E.D. MWAMULA-LUBANDI

TRANSITIONAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLAN RELATIONS AMONG BASOGA

ISBN 91 - 506 - 0151 - 2

1970

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Apart from the first instance desire to mention all names of Basoga who helped me to make this work a reality (particularly with regards to my field work), I feel more obliged to cover them in my coming complete works in Lusoga: "Ebika mu Basoga". This is based more on the fact that I could hardly cover even half of the rich material these kind and cooperative people furnished me with: due to page and content limitations in a brief thesis like this. Any mistakes arising out of this are entirely my own since none of them has been near enough to check my format before the final thesis. More to this is my deliberate utility of just a few mentioned clans in this work, to illustrate and clarify socio-economic activity among Basoga, rather than cover the numerous clans there are. Apart from simplicity in analysis, there are no biases attached to this.

On the actual academic development side, there are however a few people I must cite out. Right from Autumn 1968 and Spring 1969 I owe lots of thanks to Research Professor Erich H. Jacoby (then at the Institute for International Economic Studies in Stockholm), who both stimulated and constructively encouraged my interest in Socio-economic analysis in Developing Countries. Together with this goes the entire group of UN Student Association during the same period, with whom we have shared Professor Jacoby's guidance and assistance; in some cases even up to now.

Back in Uganda (1971 - 1972) I very much depended on Professor Peter Rigby's assistance, guidance and brief supervision at Makerere University (Sociology Faculty): when I served under him as Research Assistant. More to this I owe many thanks to the Ministry of Culture and Community Development (Uganda) who accepted my services as Lecturer at their National Institute (Nsamizi); and threw me right into better official research opportunities. The permit to do research in Uganda by the National Research Council was of utmost importance. The Principal of Nsamizi Training Institute (1971 - 1973) Mr G.S. Senkoloto; and Director of the Diploma Unit (and UN-consultant) Professor Gerald Lortie cooporatively gave me smoothened chances to carry on my research while serving the Uganda Government under their fruitful leadership. All the personnel and teaching staff at Nsamizi greatly assisted me as teachers and partners during our services.

In Sweden this work would never have matured were it not for Professor Birger Lindskog who both took me on as his post-graduate student at the Institute of Social Anthropology (Uppsala): and has since 1973 greatly assisted me under periods of turmoil. His Research Assistant Peter Kandre gave me a very interesting start in Uppsala University. Both Docent P. Wallensteen (at the Peace and

Conflict Research Institute: Uppsala), and Docent Bill Dockens Jr. III (at the Psychology Institute: Uppsala) kindly read through my manuscripts and contributed greatly with constructive suggestions.

Kamrer Eric Ende (Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken: Stockholm, Foreign Correspondance) has assisted me all the time, since 1967, as father to son. Also many thanks to S-E Banken, C.K in Stockholm: who have mutually assisted me financially since 1967. Uppsala University Kansliämbetet kindly assisted me with a Doctoral Scolarship for the period I have been with Uppsala University as a "doktorand". The financial side cannot be fully covered without mention of my kind and hard-determined father Hon. J.B. Lubandi who educated me all the way since I began school up to achieving my MSc. in 1971 at Stockholm University.

Among colleages and friends is a Kenyan, Dr. A.B.C. Ocholla-Ayayo (now at Khartoum University - Sudan) with whom we have sweated and continue to work cooperatively. Many thanks to family members, and all friends who have given me moral support ever since I began this work.

E.D. Mwamula-Lubandi

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0:1 INTRODUCTION

The people studied in this work are Basoga, in Uganda (East Africa) at the source of River Nile. They are a Bantu-tribe.

Apart from Basoga having their own old traditional value beliefs and depictions, they have been exposed to western ideologies, christianity, islam, and lately to eastern ideologies: all of which have strong socio-economic implications in their daily local life conduct. In addition, the chief industrial town of Uganda (Jinja) is in Busoga and this has attracted many new tribal elements both from within and outside Uganda.

From my findings, if we exclude all other works done on and in Uganda (where Busoga is included as part of Uganda), there are about 39 researches done so far on Busoga alone as an entity, for the period 1940-1976. I have roughly grouped these into eight categories (see Appendix 1) for both identificatory and analytical purposes. Of the eight categories the Political Administration group dominates with a percentage of about 38.5 %, followed by the History group with about 23.1 %, the Economic Analysis group with about 15.4 %, and then the rest with levels below 10 %.

Of the lot, the History group is the most systematically laid down, and analysed: though like Cohen (1971c:1) openly puts it, only the upper surface of pre-imperial Busoga historical issues is scratched. These scratches (I add) can be effectively deepened through re-examining the socio-economic significance of clan relations among Basoga.

Cohen also (1971c:3) very clearly cited out that "What makes ninteenth century Busoga particularly interesting is that we find the peoples of what we now call Busoga becoming more and more socially homogeneous at a time when there is a deepening of internal and interstate conflict."

To this I hope to provide an impartial explanation through examining and explaining why and how: though Basoga had many autonomic states, they were interwoven through culture and language based on clan relations depictions. In the same work also Cohen very correctly observed and put it that: ".. beneath the constitutional structures of the state there are subtle and crucial institutions and roles that are of far greater functional significance than the external apparatus of the state." These are some of what I am trying to unearth, particularly in trying to understand issues like what lay beneath the fact that marriages increased the range and permanence of contacts between immigrants (in Busoga) and the people they found in the country, and at the same time opened the way to speedy assimilation of their offspring.

Such issues like these raised by Cohen and other historians, particularly Ogot and Were, are what made me use their works as a springboard to re-examine clan utility among Basoga. This, though often taken for granted by Basoga themselves (except in times of danger and fright); and even more literary for granted among scholars on Busoga, still lacks a thorough break down as to how it upheld the old traditional Soga socio-economic network before westernised planned economy and political administration were introduced.

So far all political administration works and researches on Busoga have very well gone a long way to explain about the external apparatus of the state. But they have given us hardly anything about the basic motives and needs behind the old Soga traditional state-foundation and the now very westernised Uganda nation of which Busoga is part. All works on Busoga, from 1940 up to 1976, have one feature in common. They all directly or indirectly discuss something about clan utility in Busoga without telling us (even in the roughest terms) what it is to Basoga themselves and why it is such a common feature and so valued by all Basoga indiscriminately. Yet they all have tried to explain social and economic changes among Basoga in the political settings they have been exposed to over time. As a result, the research milestone which Fallers set us (1950:1) that...

> "... Busoga is an area characterised by relatively high sophistication on the part of the population and consequently one which presents different field-work problems"

... has not quite yet been adequately exploited.

Apart from the fact that I am a Musoga born and grown up in Busoga: I had to complement the little knowledge I have about Busoga through actual tracing of life-history materials and genealogies of at least eight families (4 from ruling clans, and four from commoner clans) and examined how these have been related to other Basoga they live with, over time to about six generations ago. I only used our own family life-history materials and genealogy to check how much it differred or agreed with principles on which the other families had operated over time. Having found very little variation I decided to use some of our family life-history material to specifically portray Soga motives and principles behind operating on clan value depictions. The four families were dispersed north-west, north-east, south-east and in central Busoga. For the general socio-economic change study I limited myself to the 15-mile radius from Jinja: and here I relied on informal interviews and participant observation. Up to my knowledge, the naming system in particular and the way I use the clan to analyse Soga social order structure, have never been utilised this way before in researches I

know about Busoga. This should therefore not be so much as a pioneering work but only as an opening to better products from researches by all interested in the area.

I would prefer this work to be looked at in four stages:

1) In 0:1-0:2 we aquaint ourselves with the historical background out of which we see how much the clan was relied on; warranting the necessity to re-examine clan utility.

2) In 1:1 we spell out the valuational socio-economic dimensions in which the clan has been utilised over time by Basoga.

3) In 2:1-2:4 we examine the structure of Soga social order through building on to what eventually defines the clan, as perceived by Basoga, and why and how the clan served as the basic foundation of socio-economic activity among Basoga before the introduction of western-influenced planned economics and political administration.

4) 3:1 should be particularly understood as an interlink between 2:1-2:4 and 4:1-5:1; since it has both structural socio-economic significances; and psycho-socio significances which I try (very briefly) to unearth in both 4:1 and 5:1.

Looked at this way, this work mainly deals with problems of and associated with the integrity (and non-integrity) of past and present Soga socio-economic values. Actual integration as such (and as a concept), though generally applicable to few parameters, gets structurally changed when exposed to new social interaction complexities and qualitative aspects of socio-economic development. This change has profound longterm existential changes which in turn mould the nature of social life of the people affected. This change is what I am attempting to study through traditional socio-economic action.

To me, tradition simply means the handling down of beliefs, customs, opinions etc. from generation to generation. In particular I refer to the continuity of culture in providing directives for routinely coping with the major imperatives of life: i.e. birth, survival etc. The adjective of tradition is TRADITIONAL, and it is this very word I use to describe the types of values that have been disrupted by/through socio-economic change. Traditional (or tradition-oriented) socio-economic action is the psychic attitudinal adaptation set for daily norms of local life conduct in time and space. I include "time and space" to project that what was may not now be the exact copy of what it was: depending on a particular society's

value patterns. "Traditional" should not be confused with traditionalism which is (to me) reference to a self-conscious deliberate revival of past traditional social action norms. Whereas in "traditionalism" the time relevance is to fall back and choose something past for immediate use: traditional action is continous in time sequence though maybe subject to transitional modification and/or adaptation.

What is so typical about traditional social action is the fact that it often had multiple interests. Land utility for instance, as we shall see, was incorporated in the socio-economic structure of the old Soga traditional society not only as a vehicle for prestige distribution but as a means through which to cement the clan's principles of organisation, and a resting permanent home for ancestors and/or state founders as well as clan founders: since they were buried there. In relation with these objectives, land acquisition processes were incorporated with ritualistic elements pertaining to socio-economic structure strengthening: and power targets like political organisation. Thus through such mechanisms the stability and relational prescriptions for one's socio-economic position(s) in society were maintained.

A basic importance for studying "traditional behaviour" is that many social actions and practices in Soga modernised society are actually based on the old Soga tradition and traditional norms, like for instance in Local Life Conduct patterns of socio-economic activity. In addition to this, though "tradition" (generally held as the opposite of RATIONALISM) has long been regarded as being static, stagnant, and retarded: actually traditions may have both positive and negative effects, conducing or impeding socio-economic development. As Basoga have been subject to rapid changes and migrations over many years (ref. 0:2): this makes it difficult (but not impossible) to pin down exactly what Soga tradition is, in addition to its diffuseness. However, the main core from which we can characterise Soga tradition is that after the different heterogeneous peoples had lived in the same geographical location for a very long time, intermarried, and established extensive physical and facial contacts with each other: a common language (Lusoga) evolved. With the extensive clan and kinship ties, there followed a commonness among the different smaller communities to cement a group in entity with a lot of traditional value alike. It is true, however, that there still exist some

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1) This differentation between traditional action and traditionalism is derived from Hoselitz, B.F. in INDUSTRIALISATION AND SOCIETY, 1970 (p 11-29) - UNESCO

traditional minor differences respective to the older Soga state origins: much as the group solidified long ago enough to permit a common traditional tracing. So, in effect the enticing together of the different Soga states into one tribe was already on the way for these people prior to British influence: and it was only accelerated ahead of what it was moulding into.

Most of Soga tradition is still oral, depending on memories from the past passed on. Little has been written (i.e. Lubugo: 1960, Cohen: 1972, and a possible few other unpublished pieces from some other Basoga). However, in this work, we can draw traditional boundaries through examining socio-economic activity developments from their Production-Distribution-Consumption systems (PDC-systems). But there still remain lots of materials from religion and moral normative ethics, mythology, material culture, and how these were valued and transmitted from the past to the present. We can note here that religion and normative ethics were mainly transmitted through proverbs, songs, real practice and riddles. But what furnishes us with a lot about Soga traditional behaviour is through migrational routes, clans, totems, and the related socio-economic activities: like state founding and grave alignments, the marriage systems, and certain customs followed at birth and death. An important factor in relating socio-economic and traditional value changes is that both in traditional and modernised (so-called if I may say) lives, EXISTENCE VALUE is the principal determinant factor for socio-economic relations. This more less conditions us to treat values[1)x] as EXPLANANDUMS, since they are subject to changes that are consequent to changes in population and demography, technology, socio-economic production, and organisation of PDC-systems. We should note very carefully that the actual content and boundaries of any particular value will be affected by its changing relationship to other values.

The British strategically utilised situations of struggle over values or claims to status, power and socio-economic resources. In fact the British encouraged a system where "scarcity" (in the true economic sense) was the core on which everything else in the components of "Existence Value" (see App.3) was geated making Existence Value dependent on scarcity totally. What followed was basing

1)[x] In this work values are used both as criteria for ACTION (at all levels), and also as criteria for social analysis: with fluctuation between a pluralistic use of value to specificatory implications of particularised values. For the economic politics of socio-economic change see Appendix 3.

socio-economic relations on inequality: as restructured in accordance with profitable British interests in Uganda. Under such conditioned circumstances, "traditional behaviour" assumed prime importance since it was (in Busoga) an important support of stability during rapid change: though it at times conflicted with technological change and modernisation, and did not necessarily have to be a stabilising factor. Busoga (and Uganda) became societies that were led to just entering the modern industrial development process: and have therefore a lot of study materials and data to offer respective to traditional behaviour.

0:2 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BUSOGA

Many Basoga have related the origin of the name "Busoga" as having been given to the area by outsiders. Some even claim that the name was given by Baganda who referred to the area across river Kiira (Nile) in the neighbourhood of Ripon Falls. The first Musoga president of Busoga (later changed to Kyabazinga), after Kakungulu, Owekitiibwa Wako E.K., is said to have narrated that the name is derived from one "Mutala" called Busoga. But what I found out in my field work may give some support to the name originating from a hill (Busoga hill, 33°36·1'E, 0°28·5'N): an area also touched in Cohen's work (1972), though not quite directly concerned with the district's name. Busoga hill lies about 15 miles south-west of river Kibimba[1] (also called Kitumbeezi), on the periphery of the old Bugulu state. In this area (and hill's domain) lived a people of the Reedbuck totem, abaise Musoga, who were apparently part of exodus families of the Reedbuck derivation from Bugulu. They travelled north and east settling in areas beyond control of Bugulu rulers (as evidenced by similar names from abaise Igulu and abaise Musoga, and their genealogies). These scattered settlements in the interior were prominently cemented, that people who went through the areas referred to them as "Busoga ewa Musoga" meaning Busoga in Musoga's domain: in accordance with the naming system of places in Busoga (i.e. Bukono ewa Nkono).

In this naming system a man's area of domain was named after him respectfully in honour of his supremacy over the people in that area (as the Nkono example given above). Because the first Ganda contacts with Busoga places were probably first exposed to such domains: they are said to have been somewhat confused after coming across many "Busogas ewa Musogas" that they got rid of their confusions by calling the entire area east of river Kiira, enclosed by lake Kioga in the north, the river Mpologoma system in the east, and lake Nalubaale in the south: "BUSOGA EWA ABASOGA", meaning Busoga of the different specific Musogas. Still there is another version by some Basoga who say that the name is after a ruler, MUSOGA NTEMBE, who ruled Butembe (including Bukwanga, Budondo, and Bukasa.[2] They say it was this man who was first known to Buganda: and Baganda extrapolated the country's name in this chief's respect. What I found out (in addition to Cohen's work, 1972) reflects that this chief in Butembe must have "probably" been one of the offshoots from Busoga hill-area (Mutala) in the old domain

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1) Kibimba has also another dialect's name of Kitumbeezi: the two names meaning the river's capacity to swell highly in rainy seasons.

2) Butembe is one of the old states.

of abaise Musoga. This is because "Mutala" (as we shall see), in Lusoga language, means a territorial area. What clearly emerges out (as we shall see) is the fact that before imperial intervention, there was no one whole organised authority structure for the whole of what we now call Busoga as a district. There were, instead, kingdoms (or states) and chieftainships which were entities in their own rights: linked by geographical location, marital, clan, and kinship relations. Supporting this are all available Busoga history materials which point to there having been not less than ten different small states, (now administratively enclosed in Busoga), the most prominent of which were:

Butembe ewa Ntembe
Bukono ewa Nkono
Bugabula ewa Gabula
Busámbira ewa Kisambira
Bulamogi ewa Zibondo
Buzaaya ewa Muzaaya
Bugweeri ewa Menhya
Bunhya ewa Luba
Luuka ewa Tabingwa
Kigulu ewa Ngobi
Bunhyuli ewa Nanhyumba
Bukedi ewa Wakooli (later changed to Bukooli).[1)]

Most of these states have clearly laid out genealogies: the most prominent of which are very well dealt with in Cohen's work of 1971. Thus, Busoga was not a single unified society as such. Its unity consisted of a repitition of numerous political subdivisions of an essentially common socio-economic pattern and organisational structure (as will be confirmed).

Faller's work (1956) mainly confers to the migrational movement of Soga state-founders from Bunyoro direction [2)] (see Map 1.).

Ogot (1964) says that about the fifteenth century the Luo arrived at Pubungu on Kiira in north Uganda. From here they dispersed across Congo-Uganda borderland in the northwest to western Kenya in the south east (taken from Uganda's compass points). Groups broke from Pubungu and went west, settled in Sudanic speaking Lendu-Okebu-Madi. Others travelled north and east, settling in Lango and Acholi. Some pushed directly south and east: crossing Kiira into Pawiir (north and south-west) as this river flows north and then north-west from lake Kyoga to lake Albert. One of these groups (Jo-Bito), penetrated Kitara and dis-

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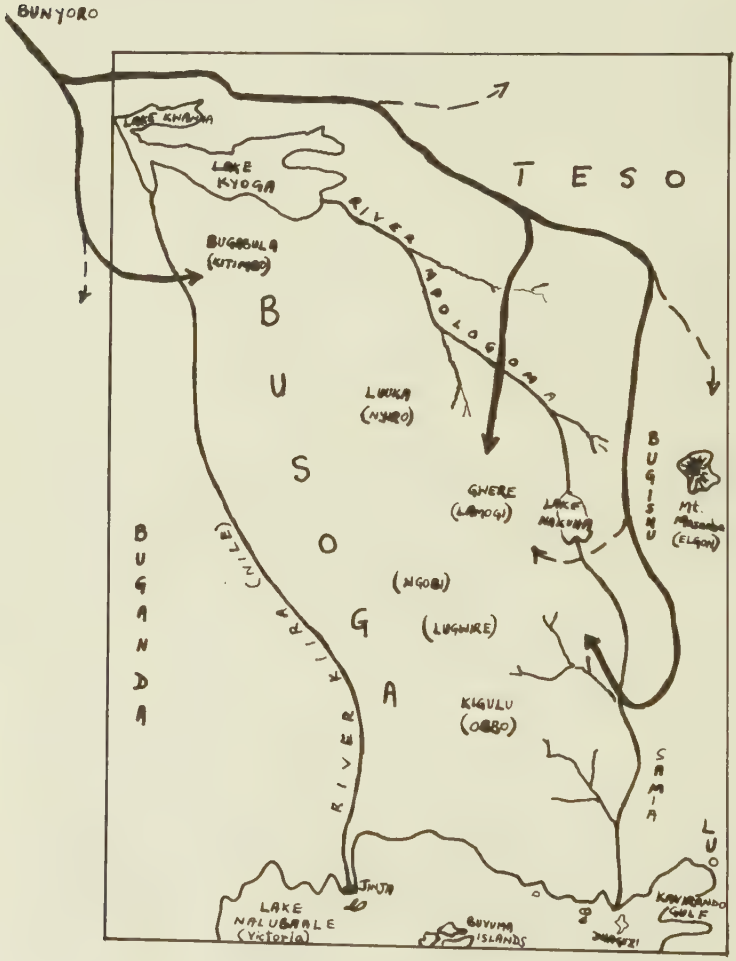
1) This change confers to the naming system as we shall see later.
2) Careful scrutiny of Faller's descriptions confers to migrations indicated in Map 1.

Map 1. BUSOGA - showing migrational movements from Bunyoro: after Faller's description (Not drawn to scale.)



= migrational movements

= autotomising population from main migrational movement

( ) = encloses name of state-founder (not all shown)

Note: the close correlation between this and Dr. Ogot's historical descriptions.

placed Chwezi domination in the late fifteenth century: to take over as rulers in Bunyoro-Kitara. They became linguistically absorbed into a Bantu-speaking world. It was from Bunyoro-Kitara that some moved into north-west Busoga to found Bugabula, and Bulamoogi[1] as shown on Map 1 (page 9). But other versions put it that the remaining elements of Chwezi royal bloods are the ones who moved into Bugabula. However, other Luo strains (now from Bunyoro-Kitara) moved east of the grassland north of lake Kwania and lake Kyoga. By the close of the fifteenth century, the Luo had consolidated hold of regions north of lake Kyoga and west of river Omunyal, in Pawiir south of Kiira, and through western Uganda as far as Katanga river.

Some four to five centuries ago Luo bands began leaving this area to north and west of Lake Kyoga, travelling east along the northern shores of Lake Kwania and Lake Kyoga. They were joined by other Luo in Kaberamaido peninsula (migrating south from Acholi). They moved east, south east and south along bays of Lake Kyoga until they pushed into the corridor between the Mpologoma river and Mt. Masaaba. They advanced to the Malaba river and some crossed Malaba into present day Busoga. These movements, apart form being directly concerned with search for land and own state-foundations: are also said to have religious and superstitious rubrics pointing to followers of Kintu and Mukama. But these are too contradictory among Basoga, and I preferred not to go deep into them since the theme of this work is not on religion: where explanations to such motives would have to be derived.

Ogot (1964) also says that Luo groups settled twelve to fifteen generations back (about late 16th century) in Busoga: in Budoola and the eastern side of Bukooli. These areas became the camping grounds of early Luo arrivals, who advanced into Busoga from the eastern margins of Lake Nalubaale. But northern Busoga, and indeed the inner parts of Busoga, were not quite devoid of people when these Luo got there: as there had already been occupants of parts in northern Busoga, some eastern parts and certainly in the southern parts near Lake Nalubaale. Busoga was originally occupied by roaming hunters in the interior, and fishers who meandered on the river Mpologoma system. Permanent settlements were established first by cultivators along the Mpologoma, Kibimba, Kiira, (and Malaba) rivers: and among peripheral hills in the south around Bugulu, not very far from Lake Nalubaale. Cultivators had migrated to north Busoga and south Busoga from Mt. Masaaba areas and from Kyagwe across Kiira. Other cultivating groups emerged from the hunting and fishing communities that lived there before.

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1) Mention of Bulamoogi, here in that sentence does not mean that it is found in northwest Busoga. Bulamoogi is in the north-east.

A group of river nomads (Bakenhye) had been already occupying some islands of rivers and riverbanks of the Mpologoma system on the eastern side of Busoga.[1] These Bakenhye, though of common culture had diverse origins. Some were drifters from Bantu regions west of Busoga, some left islands in Lake Nalubaale south of Busoga: travelling across the north-west corner of the lake and overland to the river systems of eastern Uganda. As water nomads, they depended on the canoe and canoe mobility led them through lakes Kyoga, Nalubaale and the river systems: to higher lands of western Kenya. New groups (mainly from Buganda wars) joined Bakenhye. There were some also who were refugees from early Luo invasions of eastern Uganda and Kenya. In the end these became mainly a people who were refuge-seekers from tougher conditions or ground elsewhere: taking on to river life to avoid politics, strife or battles that went on in Busoga, Bukedi and Buganda. These people therefore had a lifepattern more centred on river economy. At the rise of the Soga states along the river margins, Bakenhye served as organisational functionaries to the states. They controlled harbours, ferriage, fishing and some trade handling. Just prior to the formation of states in the nothern parts of Busoga, some Bakenhye had taken to permanent settlement on land along river systems. These settler Bakenhye were a connecting link between interior hunters and cultivators (culturally and contact-wise): and the early Luo pastoralists: with the Bakenhye river nomads. These very Bakenhye settlers are also said to have been the originators of a mixed type of economy as they fished and also carried on cultivation, and pastoral activities: depending on where they lived. On the other hand, cattle and general animal domestication was most certainly integrated in Soga life from the many Luo waves both from the north and south: as animal domestication is a very basic critical socio-economic aspect in Luo life.

Were, S.G. (1964) points out like:

> "The history of Busoga is largely that of the origins and migrational movements of the ancestors of local communities, and their development as cultural and political units."[2]

There are historical evidences pointing out that around A.D. 1382 to 1706, Busoga was subjected to migrational movements of people from different territories in the north, east, south-east, and south-west.[3] Some of these moved to Kenya where they currently live. Were says that the earliest Busoga inhabitants lived on lakeshores, and probably belonged to the same original Bantu groups of Bunyoro and

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1) See also Cohen (1972: 128, 137-140).
2) See Zamani pgs. 186-193.
3) This is derived from both Were's work, and oral history in the areas affected.

Buganda.[1] By about A.D. 1382 and 1409, the first settlers had already arrived and, sometime later, were joined by others from Mt. Masaaba area: led by Kintu or Mukama, who eventually crossed over into Bunyoro. Some of their decendants live in the south-west and north-east of Busoga. In due course, more people came from the neighbouring territories of Budaama, western Kenya, Kigulu (Sigulu) Island in the Kavirondo gulf, and Bugweere. By this time too, the Luo had also arrived in Bukooli and the northern areas of Busoga on their way from southern Sudan. All this happened between A.D. 1517 and 1598 (about thirteen to fifteen generations ago). By about A.D. 1598 and 1625 (about twelve generations ago) more settlers had arrived, this time from Bunyoro, many of them settling in Bugabula and Bulamogi. By about A.D. 1679 to 1706, Busoga was already peopled from different territories. Among the settlers in the southern areas were the ancestors of some of the major clans of Abaluhya (in Kenya). Notable among these were the Abashitsetse of Wanga, Abafofoyo of Marachi, Abaguri of Bukhayo, and Abakhekhe (Abakenhye) of Samia. On the other hand, some of the immigrants came from Bugishu, the immediate home of Babukhusu (a northern-most section of Abaluhya in Kenya).

It is therefore evident that between 1382 to 1706[2] (about nine to twenty generations ago) modern Busoga and Bugishu, like Buluhya in western Kenya, and Samia in south-western Kenya: were partly settled by people of the same stalk. As a matter of fact, it was British imperial divisions (partitions) into Uganda as a protectorate, and Kenya as a colony, that drew boundaries between these people. This led to SAME tribes being partitioned into two halves (i.e. Samia, Babukhusu, and the Pokot in Karamoja): one portion in Kenya and another in Uganda. This same feature is equally remarkable on the eastern borders of Uganda and western Kenya, as well as the western borders of north Uganda and north-eastern Zaire among the Kakwa, and some smaller tribes from Ruanda absorbed in the Bakiga in south-western Uganda. As recent as 1973, I came across some Babukhusu in Uganda who had firm tentacles in Kenya and Uganda. One man even had two homesteads: one in Bumbo area (near Mt. Masaaba) in Uganda, and another in Kenya near the banks of river Lwakhakha, each with a wife and children.

Cohen (1972), in addition to Were (1964) and what I came across in most Soga revelations, also says that the earliest Soga settlements were located in south Busoga in parts of Busoga near lake Nalubaale. This area is said to be where earliest state-foundation occurred. Old Soga life orientation here was mostly around Nalubaale, with principal cultural, ethnic and economic as well as general social bonds being linked with Buvuma islands, Buganda lakeshores, and

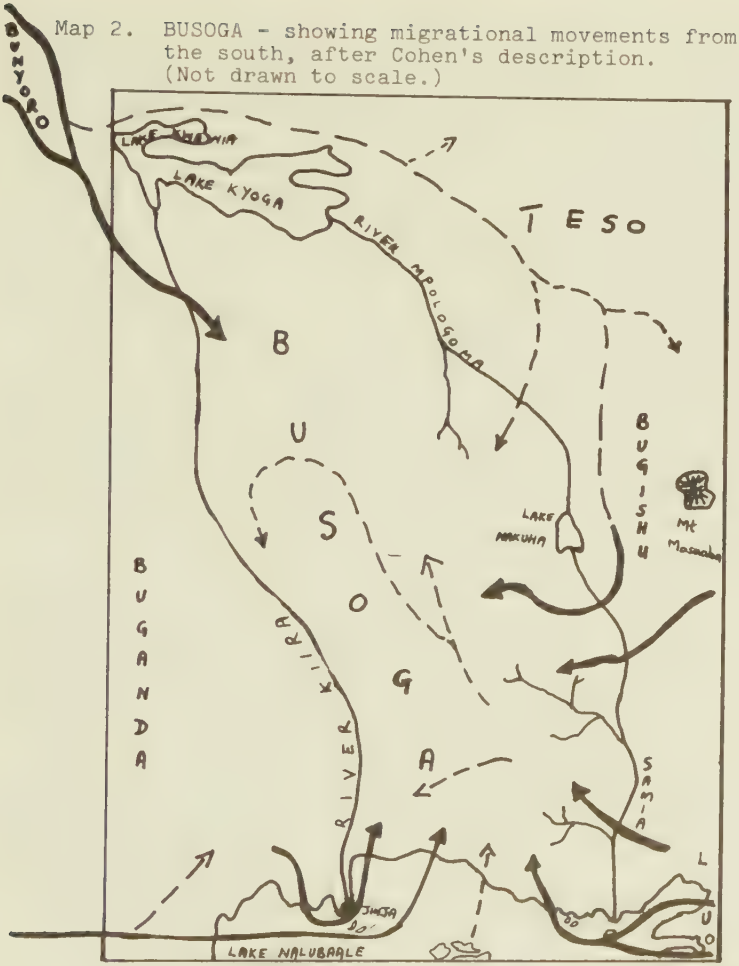
1) This time estimate (derived from Were's work) is more supported with geneological tracings, and the carbon-test.
2) These historical periods are as written by Ogot and Were who specialised in historical knowledge in East Africa.

the shores of Samia and Kavirondo gulf. Cohen's works, in relation to migrational movements, concentrate on waves from the south, particularly the south-eastern parts of lake Nalubaale (see Map 2 page 13).

Cohen's descriptions are very closely correlated to Were's historical descriptions of 1964: just as Faller's are correlated to Ogot's. The four of them point to Luo migrational movements coming both from the north and the south. In addition, Cohen says that an iron-making group from Congo came via Buganda and Buvuma islands. He says that there are ample archeological and linguistic correlations pointing out that some 2 000 years ago, an iron-making Bantu group from the Congo forest regions spread contact up to Busoga. They moved on and near rivers and lakes, establishing themselves over non-Bantu peoples who occupied areas east of Congo until they took over regions where they are currently found. North and soutward expansions led them to push into Busoga, Luoland (in Kenya) and in some interior parts of present-day Kenya: and even extending as far as Cape of Good Hope in South-Africa. Cohen also asserts that in Busoga, very little is known about pre-Kintu developments in the area: BUT, there are Kintu-movement narrations that associate him with both coming from the east somewhere near Mt. Masaaba as well as coming from the west (pre-Chwezi, Chwezi and Kimera).

As seen earlier, the Luo are an important group in the formation of Busoga as a geographical entity. These are said to have moved downwards from the north, along river Kiira (in southern Sudan) in about the fifteenth century: and also from the south-east in the Kavirondo gulf regions. They moved in small groups, and often the migratory groups cleaved into even smaller units. Segments that broke off left original camping ground in search for new land. What appears to have been the major cause of their fissions was as a result of their socio-political setting which often generated internal tensions (as revealed in Ocholla's works: 1976, Ch. 5). When the Luo moved, they carried pastoral characteristics although they readily got absorbed into non-Luo groups they encountered in search for better land. The Luo-Babito dynasty which was long established in Bunyoro, had a number of related sub-dynasties founded in Busoga and ruling Bugabula, Bulamoogi, Bukono, Bugweeri, and Bukooli. These were first virtually independent and formed individualistic alliances from those in Bunyoro. But intermarriages and clan relations brought them closer though still as separate entities. By the ninteenth century, there were about fifteen such small states. In the northern parts of Busoga where Nyoro domination prevailed, the abaise Ngobi of the bushbuck totem (a royal clan) provided the rulers for seven of the northern and eastern states. The southern parts of Busoga seem to have been ruled by dynasties from an eastern or lake Nalubaale origin.

Map 2. BUSOGA - showing migrational movements from the south, after Cohen's description. (Not drawn to scale.)



What we now call Basoga are among the northernmost members of a block of closely related Bantu-speaking peoples. North and north-east people speak Lupakoyo. Lutenga is spoken elsewhere, though with intonational differentiations. Lupakoyo was closest to Lunyoro a few decades ago. Through migrational movements there were Lunyoro-associated dialects running from Bunyoro, across the north of present-day Buganda, across north Busoga and through to Bugweere east of Busoga. In-between Lupakoyo and Lutenga are dialects that are intermediate: with some of them more akin to languages spoken in Ssese islands, Buvuma islands, eastern Buganda, Samia, and also Bugwere,Bukedi and south western Teso.

Cohen (1972) reflects that there is evidence that suggests that settled Bakenhye families, along with water nomads, were drawn together by traditions of common flight, common river economy life, marriage webs, and by growing interdependence between pure nomads and the more settled cultivating groups of the banks. But, it is evident also that several non-Bakenhye clans had established themselves outside Bakenhye areas in Busoga. Among the hunting groups of the interior were abaise Mukose and abaise Igaga, found by Luos at Gadumire and Izinga: when Luo pastoralists and hunters crossed Mpologoma river between river Naigombwa and lake Nakuha. Thus when the Luo arrived in the northern and eastern parts of Busoga: they found clustered occupations, transient groups, all across the interior and along the Mpologoma and Kyoga waterways.

All the different migrational arrivals in Busoga, those who were there already, and those who got displaced: clamoured for separate state-formation. So at the coming of European influence, there were at least forty to sixty small states and possibly more. Cohen (1972) reasons, from a historical point of view, that it is difficult to synthesise historical facts in Busoga because it is an area where displaying semblences of social unity begun in the eighteenth century: and actual political unity and conscience (consciousness) of unity came later in the twentieth century.[1] But really clan cleavage reveals something more. My contention here is that since social unity alone is not a necessary condition for historical existence, this simply cannot be: though quite admittedly the task of synthesising historical facts in Busoga is laborious, BUT not impossible. A fact to bear in mind here is that Basoga can rightly be said to have been a fairly distinguishably well disintegrated clan-based "multi-society", territorially divided according to state and domain depictions as organisational limitations: socio-economically. It was in 1891 when unity was officially accelerated through Basoga being clumped together (by Grant) to efficate British rule. The main impact behind British extensions of influence in Busoga and the far east of present-day Uganda was to watch the British communication line between Uganda and the Kenya coast: to safeguard their socio-economic empire-building system.

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1) This is as reflected in Cohen's works, 1971-72 - MISR (Uganda).

1:1 SOGA PDC-SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT

What is meant by PDC-system in this work is simply the Production-Distribution-Comsumption cycle of resources utility. Unlike the usual economist's treatment of Production, Distribution (Marketing), and Consumption, as separate entities in the economic system interlinked through specificatory mechanisms: I treat them as interdependent factors in one system, and reasons for doing this will become apparent as we proceed.

Out of all the research done on and in Busoga, Gerken (1966), (whom I consider to be nearest to this work), studied social change in rural areas of Busoga under the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation. He (1966:1) points out that though Basoga were divided in kingdoms and chieftaincies, they followed very much the same pattern in litigating authority, they share the same system of property, and have the same language. My reaction to this is that it is so due to Basoga having the same cultural value-pattern depictions: with only minor differences here and there due to origins in terms of old state foundations.

Gerken (1966: 1-2) observed that:

"Individual Basoga quitted groups in the village and joined other groups in town, and that individuals deviated from the norms of one group (CLAN) and endured its sanctions to fulfill the conflicting norms of other groups (on the working place) and enjoyed their rewards."

But he did not consider the issue of what a clan is.

He used concepts of identity and status as a determining factor of identity to describe and explain ACTION. Action was categorised into:

1) conditions of action (environment).
2) choice of goals - the norms and values which govern these choices.
3) choice of means to accomplish the goals - the instrumental norms which allow or forbid certain means of action.

But we are still left with the issue of what identity and status is among Basoga and their culture. Thus much as we may observe their ACTION, we still are short of the logic behind! However, he very correctly reckoned that: "changes which might be affected by the 'intrinsic logic' of culture and/or the contact with another culture have importance for the actions of individuals and will probably become manifest in categories of 'membership' and 'conformity to specific norms' of groups around which these changes centre."

Gerken (1966:3) found a strong resistance among his subjects "to give up what is looked at as the very basis of social and economic existence in Busoga: a home with a minimum of land around it". But the logic behind this in Soga cultural perception was very largely left intact: though (if one reads his works very carefully) he crept up with unexplained hints here and there.

In examining the social position of a Musoga (1966:4) he divided factors affecting this into:

1) those sine qua non conditions of having a home and being or having been legally married (that is having paid dowry and/or been married in a ceremony) without which a man is not regarded as a MUTAKA.

2) those variable factors the combination of which defines the social position of a Musoga in his society: occupation, education (here I add that in terms of traditional and modernised education), religion, membership in a ruling clan vs. a commoner clan, position of father in clan, village, and kingdom; as being the main factors.

He correctly observed that the position of the father was often decisive for the place his respondents took (in his dimensions). A high position in the kingdom and clan and control over land and access to the Local Government made the father able to educate his son. He also correctly observed that members of the major ruling clans provided a considerably higher percentage of civil servants and a slightly higher percentage of industrial workers, to whom other criteria of selection applied, than members of other commoner clans. To this, apart from the fact that it was (in the first degree) old traditional ruling clans which had (to begin with) access to local and civil (national) services; and could therefore attract immediate close relatives: I can only add that these "other criteria" (in Soga terms, as far as I understand them) were not based on anything else other than the fact that these aliens (met through industrial employment) did belong to ruling or commoner clans where they came from. If they came from commoner clans then they were assessed (by Basoga) on to whether they were a "wife-giving clan" to the ruling clan where they came from or were in some possible way connected to clans in Busoga by or through means of having the same totem: though belonging to different tribes. But still in Gerken's work we do not get to know what the clan is in order to be able to understand well (and rationalise) these observations from a Soga point of view.

In considering prestige, Gerken (1966:4) found land ownership, living near the grave of one's grandfathers, and living in the community into which one is born, to have

had strong bearings on his results. But even if he adjusted his tests to suit into the framework of what he was after, he glided over thorough examination of what value-depictions generated the bearings.

However, he still got results showing that when he asked industrial workers to describe themselves, they took to clan-membership as a traditional way of expressing one's identity.

In connection with this, among other things, I examine what roles family and clan identities had in both the existence and maintainence of Soga socio-economic activities. I try to reveal how socio-economic activity and supremacy were maintained, and why they were based on clan relations and interactions.

I mean to go into how and why effects of socio-economic value changes on traditional values took dimensions on two readily observable related continuums.

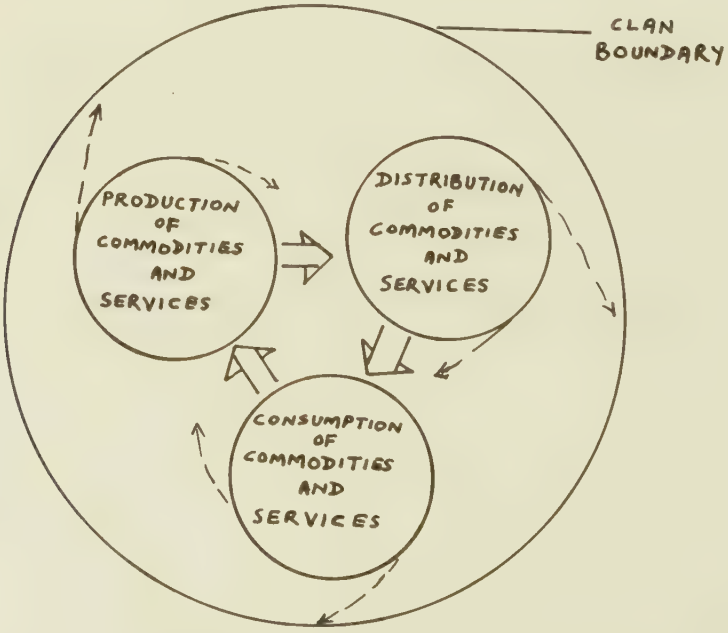
The first one involved transition from disloyal, unpatriotic, indifferently patriotic, to superpatriotic value depictions. The second involved transition from destitute, poor, with adequate means, well off, to wealthy value depictions. Considering these two continuums in bipolar dimensions helps us cover ranges of negative, neutral and positive choice preferences in the active Soga socio-economic world.

The actual historical socio-economic making of present day Busoga can be seen through how family PDC-systems became linked to the national PDC-system: and the development stages Basoga have undergone so far.

In this work I treat basic socio-economic activity as being primarily for survival: with an old traditional semi-closed PDC-systems' pattern. The semi-closed nature of the PDC-system is what conditions agricultural activity, in the old Soga traditional society, to be mainly for subsistence. In subsistence agriculture, production, distribution, and comsumption occur in the same socio-economic context: with limited independent exchange outside the family and clan relatives.

In the old Soga traditional society, the integration of diverse PDC-systems' activities rested on local family and clan structures. Levels of socio-economic organisational authority went from the family upwards, to clan and state structures: and on clans rested most of Soga socio-economic organisational principle-depictions. We can now diagrammatise the family (+ household) PDC-system (Diagram 1.).

Diagram 1. The family PDC-system.



This is a simple form of PDC-system which develops into more complexity and specialisation.

In the case of Busoga, though we have seen that the socio-economic change we are interested in goes back to the time of the Bakenhye river nomads, there are one or two things we must qualify before proceeding further. First and foremost is the fact that even if most of Busoga's history is that of the origins and migrations of local communities, and their development as cultural and socio-economic units: and even if the Luo are an important factor in the formation of Busoga, both these contentions (derived from Drs. Ogot and Were) do not in any way suggest that the region now called Busoga had been a completely empty land-mass prior to these phenomena. The slight difference in time correlations (in generations) that exist between these two people's works does not even negate this either. That the earliest inhabitants of Busoga lived near lakeshores is stressed by Were (1964), Cohen (1972), and myself does not either suggest that the inner parts were empty. Since Bakenhye socio-economic activities in Busoga made them a connecting link between interior hunters and cultivators, the missing link is the fact that earliest socio-economic activity in Busoga goes back further than the period I have chosen to be the start of my analysis. On the one hand we had fishermen (water hunters) on lake Nalubaale in south Busoga and on the Mpologoma river system (going as far as lake Kyoga): and on the other hand we had land hunters in the interior of Busoga. That the Bakenhye along the river Mpologoma system, were the first to actively practise mixed agricultural and socio-economic activities in Busoga cannot therefore be much of a surprise since they were exposed to fishing (as fishermen), to hunters in the interior (on their way in overland crossing), and to agriculturalists that lived near both lake Nalubaale and the Mpologoma river system. All they did was to combine the different socio-economic necessities to create self-sufficient units: and this they began at the rise of Soga states when hunting and gathering ground for wanderers was beginning to be demarcated, and agriculturalists were also being forced to occupy limited territory (in terms of acreage). This may mean that Bakenhye were the first in Busoga to situationally adapt and accomodate themselves to an oncoming new environment in Busoga that was created by the different migrational waves and power factors in state formation.

Actually, right in the interior parts of Busoga (where there are some remains of older clans: i.e. aBaise mususwa) one can scrutinise Soga socio-economic activity back to when people (in small family groups, clans, and village hunters) wandered and subsisted on hunting and gathering of fruit and greens, till the agricultural period and thereafter. As a matter of fact there are some clans in Busoga which are said to have been specialists in hunting in the old traditional society.

In Busoga, mine is most probably the last generation which enjoyed the last traces of fruit-gathering from forest and wild jungle. What I mean is that whereas Basoga children born after 1955 (especially those in urban areas) may not even be aware of the existence of such vital activities in their society, at some time past: at least those of us who had marginal participation in them tasted a life past. At the ages of nine and ten (1952-53), while at school, we used to go fruit-gathering on Saturdays and hunted for oBukonso, eNsaali, and eMpwapulo: but this was against the boarding missionary school (Mwiri) regulations, and we used to be punished on and off if found out! Fruit gathering in real old traditional Soga life included other fruits like aMatungulu, eMbafu, eNkenene, eMiyembe (mangoes), eNkooge, eMifenensi, eMichungwa (oranges), oBuliimu (limes), eMisitafeeri, aMapeera (guava), aMapapaali (pawpaws), eNanasi (pineapples), eNtuntunu, and aMasooma: all of which are now more less commercialised agricultural products. Root digging included things like aMayuuni, eBira (yams) and eMbooli (sweet potatoes): which are also now commercialised cultivation products. Basoga also used to gather greens like Timpa, Doodo, Mutere, Enswiiga, eIyobyo; which Europeans who have been to Uganda usually clog together as mere different types of spinach. To mention some of these names to children born after 1955, now, would be like talking about some fairy tale hero names to them: yet it is only a lag of less than twenty years inbetween (leave alone the lot others even those born in late ninteen fourties miss). The little hunting expedition I ever had, before gun-hunting, was catapult bird-hunting with a village neighbour's son: but I was systematically stopped from it by my parents. Apart from stopping me for safety reasons, they thought that it was primitive! This spurts out of their educational views from missionary schools. However, on that single expedition I was instructed by this boy (about ten years older than I was) that one had to both identify certain trees from the rest because some specific birds frequented those trees for fruit or young buds: and that certain birds were not to be killed either because of what they ate (scavengers) or due to other ritualistic connections. One type (eMinsoonono) he said was a good bait but one had to avoid it if it made specific noises, bacause at that instance it acted as a forewarner to other little animals in vicinity about the presence of (eNsweera): which is a big very poisonous snake. Unfortunately I never went far in this natural science: as my parents were against it, and we soon moved to Local Government quarters. Later on, at the age of fourteen and when on holiday at an aunt's place, I

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1) The names given in the text remain so because there are no equivalent English words for them. However, English translation is also given in brackets whenever possible.

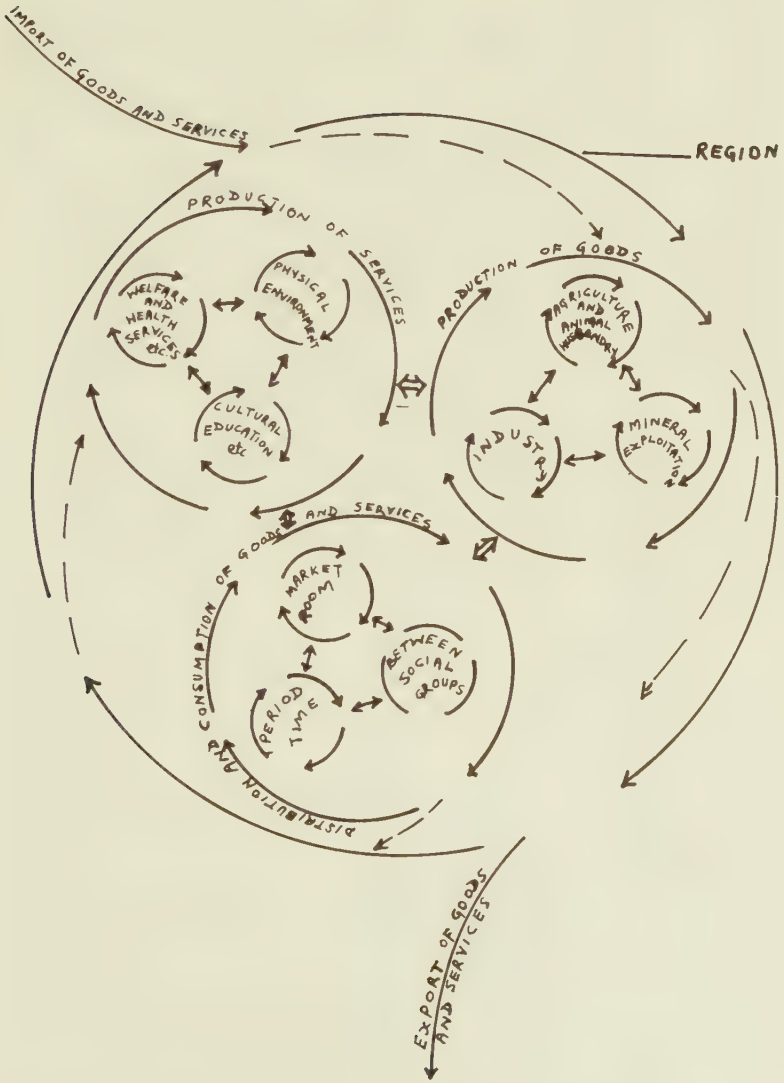
met village and schoolboys living in that same area whom I joined in a forest-competition to identify as many trees and grasses as possible: but again this was a forbidden venture due to dangers involved. I was never to realise the significance of these two ventures until 1966, when I was a first-year university student in Botany, Zoology, and Geology in England: on two separate fieldwork excursions. Were it not for value-conflicts, on the part of my parents, I probably would have learnt more. But as this was considered a sign for uneducatedness from a "missionary viewpoint", they had to step in.

The old traditional society's Basoga knew very well their geographical environments through knowledge to locate spots frequented by certain animals at different times of the year, spacing hunting times (as it is said that it used to be considered antisocial if one went hunting during times when some related species of grasseating animals had youngs), categorising locations where non-edible (by Basoga standards) animals and birds frequented, and tree, herb, and grass identifications for medical purposes. In the hunting and gathering period, small family groups' or clans' socio-economic activities formed PDC-systems with relatively small geographical area limitations: as they could move rather unlimitedly. With beginnings of agricultural activities, they gradually reformed and re-structured the wild geographical environment into a new one, playing the role as a "geographical regional mould" for their different activities. With the migrational waves, state foundation, intermarriages, clan cleavages and fusions: new circumstances emerged, eventually culminating into a Soga economic entity with distinct new cultural trends. The formerly simpler PDC-systems and other socio-economic institutions developed towards more complicated ones. Animal husbandry was incorporated in Soga culture and PDC-systems' organisation from the Luo pastoralist elements. When the British annexed Busoga to a wider national socio-economic structure, Basoga had already created a fauna and flora which, to a great extent, was independent of the former wild geographical environment: and was fastly becoming dependent on human activity and the new man-made geographical demarcations. Cash-crop introduction (by the British), namely cotton, merely subjected the socio-economic activities of Basoga (and indeed the rest of Uganda) to be based on agriculture: and the entire Uganda has hardly gone beyond this level in spite of the country's industrial potentials. However, there developed a more complex structural mechanism in the PDC-systems for the exchange and distribution of commodities, leading Busoga to being incorporated into the national structure only as a REGION (as represented in Diagram 2.).

By the time Uganda got her independence (1962) she had just entered into the modern industrial development race: and is still far from countries that have passed through the actual process of industrial development, with which she is supposed to compete on similar terms (usually dictated by developed nations) in the international socio-economic structure. A fact to bear in mind here is that there still exist the domination of natural and self-sufficient economy and isolation of PDC-systems (regions) from the outside world. From the introduction of cash crop commerce, commodity and service circulation reached intercontinental scales even before speading within the country itself, and the African continent as a whole! This stimulated and influenced the PDC-systems, but could not eliminate the isolation of these PDC-systems in a great part of the world like Africa and Asia: while it had very positive effects on other parts of the world like Britain and some developed nations. Such were the main quests in British imperial dominance.

Technique's development, on the other hand, would consequently lead to socio-economic integration of isolated units with each other: but this does not seem to be the case in Uganda yet! All these fundamental changes cause very large institutional, organisational and structural changes. Exactly how these factors are interconnected and integrated in the PDC-systems is what I am trying to examine through the socio-economic structure, land law and the economy. A more complex PDC-system developed when Busoga became incorporated in Uganda as a region (see Diag. 2).

Diagram 2. The PDC-system (adapted from Golabian).

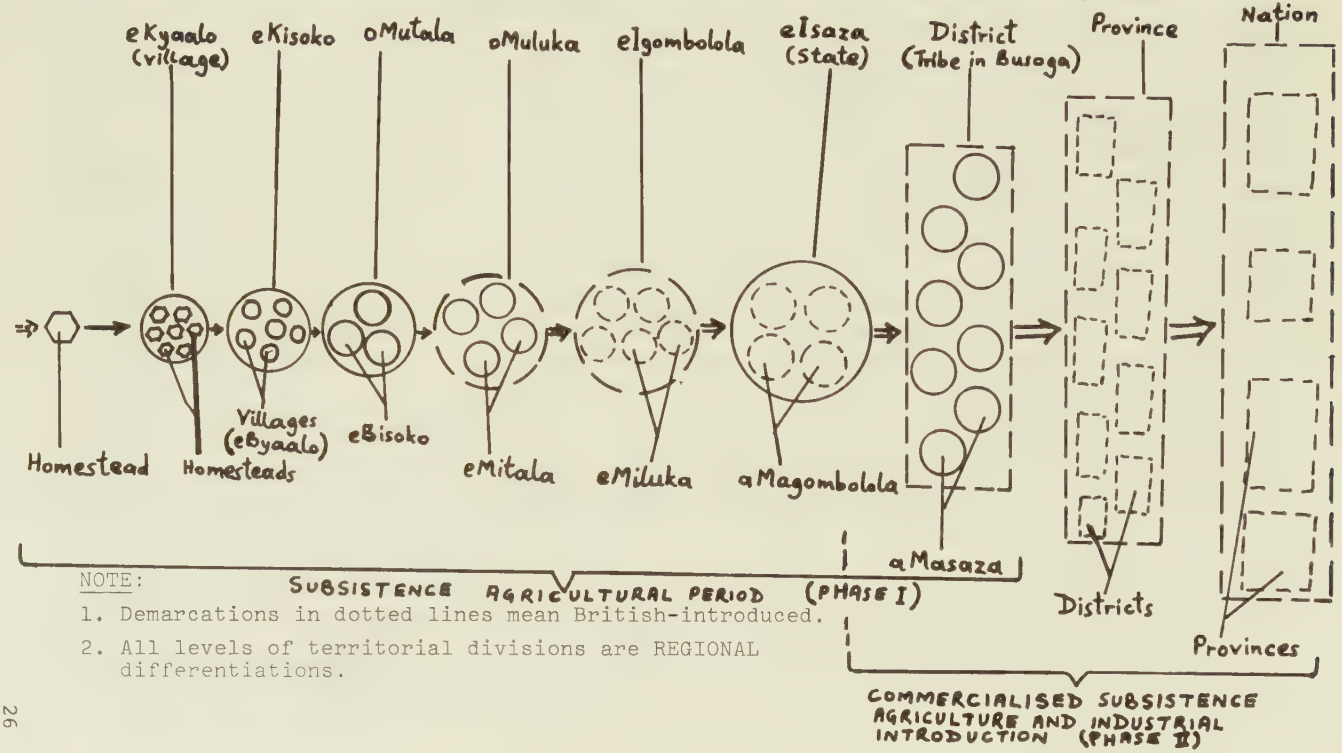


This is a more complex development in the PDC-system from the simple type drawn in Diagram 1.

The actual historical socio-economic making of present day Busoga can be seen through how family PDC-systems are linked to the national PDC-system: and the development stages Basoga have undergone so far. Since part 0:2 threw us as far back as the period of migrational movements, I can afford summarising (diagrammatically) Soga socio-economic development stages as starting from when separate households became incorporated into KYAALO, KISOKO, etc., etc. as represented in Diagram 3.

When cash crops were introduced in Busoga, there came a differentiation between the socio-economic contexts of production, distribution, and consumption. Money gained the command of goods and services circulation: and it also began to undervalue familial and clan sanctions that governed PDC-systems' activity in the old traditional Soga society. Jinja's industrialisation gradually developed migratory and wage labours: leading Basoga to being attached to both the old traditional socio-economic context and an urbanised socio-economic context. The old traditional PDC-systems became widened in size and complexity as they became integrated into the national socio-economic structure. The more complex national socio-economic structure is itself a PDC-system made up of lesser complex PDC-systems starting from individual family PDC-systems which predominated the old traditional Soga socio-economic activities. Busoga became only a REGION in the wider national structure: and what I take as a "region" is the mutual relationships between geographical space and human socio-economic interactional activities in society.

Diagram 3. Soga socio-economic development stages (from an organisational point of view).



NOTE:

1. Demarcations in dotted lines mean British-introduced.
2. All levels of territorial divisions are REGIONAL differentiations.

One major socio-economic factor which comes out of this development is that there has been continual transition from small, simple, scattered, and isolated PDC-systems into larger, more complex, more concentrated, and less isolated ones. British imperialism found Basoga in phase I, and left them in phase II: with meagre agricultural technological improvements. The PDC-systems (according to their capacity levels of development of productive forces) need various factors and resources to improve commodity and services rotation, or circulation. This is achieved through human socio-economic activity such as road-construction, village and town building, land tenure development, etc. etc. The actual levels of human intervention depend on levels of PDC-systems' development. In the old traditional Soga society (phase I Diagram 4) the circulation of commodities and services were very limited and took place in small areas by human labour: and there was little need for big road constructions. But as the introduction of cash crops in phase I, which preceeded industrial introduction, commodity and services circulation began reaching higher organisational levels making road-construction an actual necessity. With this came other modernisation demands, all of which (including the cash-crop factor) entailed fastly changing socio-economic values in the traditional socio-economic structures. The problems of in which amounts, where, when, and how commodities and services must be produced and thereafter among whom, where, when, and how these commodities and services must be distributed, and then consumed: became questions left to the Soga and Ugandan socio-economic and cultural organisations, institutions, and systems. All these structures are closely linked and interconnected in the PDC-systems: and their component parts work in mutual relations and contradictions. Diagram 2 is a modified diagram from Golabian (1975) to illustrate the wider PDC-system.

The PDC-system in Diagram 2 is a dynamic phenomenon (from what we have seen so far) and is in a perpetually changing and evolutionary process. Any change either as a result of internal or external factors, in any part of the system has widespread and snowball-like effects on the whole of the system's structure. In this system all activities and behaviours are classified in three main groups:

1. Production of commodities and any kind of material wealth, agriculture, industry, etc.

2. Production of material and non-material services, sanitation, health, education, housing, etc.

With Basoga as a mainly agricultural people, we can easily illustrate the bearings on value-perception on the general Soga socio-economic transition. Here I will only examine some basic changes related to agricultural activity; by simply extending on the phases already implied in Diagram 3.

Diag. 4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSITIONAL REPRESENTATION

	PHASE I	PHASE II	PHASE III
SOCIO-ECONOMIC INTERACTION	Heterogeneous society with: Luo, Nyoro, Gishu, Ganda, Luhya — Components still predominant in state foundation. Not yet contaminated with European influence and civilisation. Very strongly organised around the domestic unit, clan, and lineage boundaries. Weak Soga feelings - as a tribal entity.	Heterogeneous as in phase I, but now with strongly founded inter-state differentials based on clan depictions. Oncoming of British-value imperialism: which clusters all Soga powers "crushed" and subjugated to one (District) rule. Local Life Conduct based on same principles as in phase I, though. Strong tribal feeling emanated. Onset of growing individualisation, in terms of nuclear-family units. Introduction of British-structured education system. People learning to orientate (if not forced) their lives on tribal and national lines as opposed to the old types limited to clan and state foundations. Introduction of European, Indian, and other tribes influxes.	Rather cosmopolitanised heterogeneous society from phase II. Fully cemented tribal feelings from phase II utilised in difficult traumas. Very (by now) individualistic, nucleus-family orientated: but still within old clan family-life depictions. Strengthening modernised value orientations mixed with half-modified old clan and tribal value depictions utilised at national levels. Limitedly prescribed knowledge about international relations. Still partially aware of national integrity with little aspiration beyond Uganda borders. Impaired polarisation of the social orders both at local and national levels; between illiterates, and literates.
	Monetary and Educational formal introductions.	Vague knowledge about African countries via education.	Narrowly prescribed scientific knowledge.
AGRICULTURE	Subsistence agriculture; with shifting agricultural practice predominating the agricultural cycle. No cash-crop cultivation. Fishing (Abakenyhe), and a fair amount of fruit and root tuber gathering from the wild. Hunting practiced for food and survival. Marketing in form of direct barter. Lack of modernised scientific technical and agricultural know-how. Non-commercialised land distribution practices based on traditional land-law and values.	Agriculture and food productions as in phase I, but with introduction of cash-crop integration in old technical know-how. Beginnings of monetarisation and commercialisation of agricultural products, land distribution, little and limited agricultural technology and animal husbandry. Introduction of commercial and industrial enterprises. Dying out of hunting and gathering food for survival. Beginnings of cash-crop specialisation (cotton and coffee). Beginnings of: $AD, AC > mY + rY$ Beginnings of deteriorations in subsistance levels.	Narrowly and partially developed mixed agriculture, subjected to world socio-economic marketing conditions. Although there is growing industry and commercial ability: real Agricultural and Industrial productivity are far less than local market consumption demands. $AD, AC > mY + rY$ RY polarisation both at r and n levels. Very wide LC-gaps in agricultural credit PPPD. Clearly marked deteriorations below subsistence levels.

Note

AD = Aggregate Demand

AC = Aggregate Consumption

r = Individual

n = National

R = Real

Y = Income

Agriculture should be remembered to be only one aspect of the PDC-systems involved. Utility of the socio-economic spectra directly related to agricultural activities is only an aspect of the complex socio-economic moulds in the PDC-systems. This means that there are bound to be (and there are indeed) variations in PDC-systems, even within the same locale: depending on which particular items of the PDC-system an individual engages in. Thus, much as diag. 4 may help us identify some basic variables (probably the most crucial ones) that are directly affected by value changes from old traditional to modernised: it certainly does not embrace all that can be covered through PDC-system analysis.

The old traditional Soga economy was fundamentaly based on village peasant subsistence cultivation which gradually shifted to include cash-crop agriculture under British influence. Cultivation for subsistence still dominates the Soga economy, and Basoga themselves have two basic sayings going with this:

1. "Embago maama" - meaning that the hoe is a mother.
2. "Embago izaawula" - meaning the the hoe is a life saviour.

(Both these are literally translated.)

Matooke (otherwise known as bananas) still forms Basoga's staple food and it thrives all year around in moist-rich areas in central and southern Busoga. In the north and south-eastern parts of Busoga, where there are much drier seasons (i.e. Bulamoogi), Matooke is not so important and is substituted by millet as a staple food, plus cassava and sweet potatoes. Matooke are classified into two main categories each with different species, and a small third one which is fairly recent in Soga traditional life-style. Of the two, one is for beermaking and the other for cooking while unripened. The third one has dessert species and one delicatere' specimen.

The group for cooking has numerous varieties ranging from MBULULU, NAMALIGIDHA, MUKUBANKONDE, MBWAALI, to KIDHOOZI (which is mostly cooked when ripe to make "ENTOGONYHA"). All cooking species can be peeled, cut into long pieces and dried for storage through enlongated dry seasons in preparation for fight against famine. In extreme stresses this dried MATOOKE (known to Basoga as OBUKHEKHE) can also be made from NTUDHU, and from heat-stricken MATOOKE which start to ripen even before they are mature. This immature ripening used to be a signal for an elongated dry spell or even an anticipated famine.

The beer group mainly includes NTUDHU and KISUBI which are brewed when ripe into a sweet honey-like syrup (OMUBISI) or alcoholised beer (OMWENGE) through addition of yeast. KISUBI is also used together with NDIIZI as dessert when eaten ripe. WEETE is the delecatere' and used to be roasted when both green or ripe, depending on one's taste. This WEETE (also known as GONJA in some parts of Busoga) is perhaps the closest strain to the West-Indian bananas widely consumed in European countries.

The economic importance of MATOOKE is not only in relation to its being a food crop. It is easy to tend, needing only tilling (oKULIMA) once or twice a year, once the floor of the garden (oLUSUKU) is properly covered with dead banana leaves and fibres: a process called "OKUWOOLERA EBIGOGO" or "OKUWOOLERA OLUSUKU". This process includes cutting off

some of the leaves from plantains (trunks). While OLUSUKU means garden, EBIGOGO means the plantains themselves. aMatooke are the fruit or bananas.

"OKUWOOLERA" is usually done just before the dry season both to decrease water loss through transpiration, by decreasing the leaf surface: and to avoid direct water loss from the soil by covering it with the cut (or dead) leaves and trunk fibres which ultimately rejuvinate soil fertility when it rains on them and they finally decay into manure.

The banana plantain has also got many other uses[1] which include:

1. making mats from dried fibres or "OKULUKA EBISAMPA"
2. making "ENKATA" - used to put on the head before transporting any load
3. making balls and ropes - for children to play with and tying goats with
4. making "empombo" - for filtration, decantation, and cooking meat in. Also green leaves are used as makeshift umbrellas in case of rain
5. making dolls for little girls

OBS 1 and 3 are made out of dry fibres
2 and 4 are made out of leaves
5 is made out of the inner core of the plantain as it is still solid.

NOTE Recently people in Busoga have developed mosaic art whereby they make pictures (like paintings) out of joining pieces of dried fibres.

Dry banana fibres were also used in hut and house construction and used in preserving some foods like ghee, groundnuts, simsim and stone-salt imported from Toro areas (or MAGADI). In royal courts dried banana fibres were used for making chairs for young boys of ages 3 to 10 but could not be done for adults as they break too easily. An extreme case I came across was a lady's handbag and a man's hat made out of banana fibres. Also very much more in use, daily, are the stalks of leaves (EMIGOONGO) used in cooking for aromatic flavouring. Last, but not least, is the ritualistic use of banana gardens (or ENSUKU). There are clear rituals (EMISOSO) between the garden and the dead. All dead people in Kisoga culture were and still are burried in ENSUKU - unless a particular family (usually the royals)

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1) Apart from the uses of the banana plantain listed above, there are other vital socio-culutral uses of MATOOKE, ENSUKU, and their products more vividly portrayed through discussing religious practices, Soga life-style patterns, and Soga land law.

had a special allocation of land separated from the rest just for this purpose. I am not very sure that the MISOSO are in connection with this; just as Basoga themselves are not certain about the establishment of the banana in Soga culture. There are, however, different traditional stories in effect to these: and there are two dominant ones concerned with the establishment.

1. Says that KINTU (the cultural hero of Basoga and Buganda) carried the banana in Busoga from the East. The plant became differentiated and spread into the interior of Busoga.

2. Says that a fisherman in Nalubaale (or Lake Victoria) found a banana shoot in his trap. His family, later on aBAISE MUGOGO - carried the plantain (the fisherman's discovery) into central Busoga, from where it spread.

I would not try to confirm which one is true but both serve to illustrate the early presence of Matooke in Soga culture[1]. Where Matooke thrives all the year around millet (or · OBULO = ELEUSIN) serves as a secondary food. But it assumed the staple role where it is drier and where it can be reaped twice a year (i.e. 2 crops). It is sown just before the rainy season and harvested in the dry seasons. As food it is eaten in a form of thick "MOOSE" (Bwiita in Lusoga), or as porridge (BUUGI). A type of beer, aMALWA, is brewed out of millet. In the marginal areas between the drier and more moist areas, a form of dried matooke (BUKEKE) and dried sweet potatoes (MABOYA) used to be a safety measure against food shortages.

Cassava and maize are today important food crops and were more recently introduced in Busoga to couple millet in the drier areas. These can be eaten fresh or dried and they can also be pounded into powder forms with mortars (ebinu and emikonko). Also yams are grown in banana gardens and "AMAYUNI" are grown in the swampy edges. Sweet potatoes (EMBOOLI) are domesticated root tubers which used to be dug from the wild.

Nutrition-wise MATOOKE are 75% water plus some starch and little proteins, cassava is with more than 50% starch, EMBOOLI (potatoes) have much starch and a slightly higher degree of proteins than cassava; while millet has more than 80% proteins. This is significant in relation to variant degrees of KWASHIAKOR spread in Busoga between areas where millet is the staple food and where matooke is the staple food respectively; and it holds very distinctively true between different regions in Uganda: worsened by the high degree of MARASMUS presence in the food-rich areas of Uganda. Various other foods include varieties of peas, beans, and groundnuts. "Maido" (groundnuts) and simsim are also major cash crops in Soga econo-

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1) For further speculations on Banana Introduction to Uganda see Konczacki (1977: 14-28).

mic life: only led by cotton, sugar cane and coffee. Basoga have always had a variety of greens including tomatoes, eNswiga, Mutere, Doodo, eInyhante, Timpa: plus some from some types of peas - i.e. Ikubi (from young leaves of eMPINDI), and MUSIGHE (IKOOTE) from cooked, dried and pounded eIKUBI. Most of these used to be picked from wild growths but some are now cultivated as cash-crops. With the tides of European influence came cabbages, avocadoes, lettuce, Biringanya and big chillies. There are hot spices ranging from ginger, chilli (small) to onions and garlic which used to be wild but now valuable on the market and often scarce. Almost all fruits used to be wild and picked and collected by women and children. These include eMIYEMBE (mangoes), eNanansi (pineapples), aMapapaali (pawpaws), eMisitafeeri, eMifenensi, CITRUS fruits, aMapeere (Guavas), oButunda (passion fruit), eNtuntunu, eMbafu (olives), eNkooge, eNkenene, eMpwapulo, eNsaali, oBukonso, aMatungulu etc., etc. Many of these are now grown for commercial purposes although some are still collected from wilds and put directly in the market.

The exchange that went on prior to European influence was through direct barter of commodities, estimated in quantity mainly; particularly in bride-wealth transactions.

Cattle

Cattle have been a vital economic and cultural factor in Soga life - particularly in the less densely settled areas of northern Busoga, where the environment is safe and more favourable for cattle-keeping; and here the pastoral traditions and customs were strong. The economic aspect of cattle is embedded in the consumption of meat, milk, hides, ghee and butter productions. In the past coagulated blood used to be eaten in a form of pudding but that has fast disappeared. Also a form of coagulated lump-milk (Bbongo) used to be a dessert for the well to-do but medical services have almost totally discouraged it, as it was found to be one of the chief transmitters of the virus responsible for bone tuberculosis. Cow-dung was and still is (in some cases) also used in cementing baskets (EBIIBO), round traditional trays (ENGALI), and cementing the internal walls of houses and granaries (EBYAAGI). The horns of cattle used to be made into blowing horns for rallying hunting groups. Fly-whiskers were often made for the royals from tails of cattle. The cattle owners have all along enhanced their economic positions and relation with the non-owners through trade or exchange of their products and byproducts. The non-owners were mainly cultivators. More of the cultural valuational aspects of cattle acquisition were mostly portrayed through bride-wealth: since a family's socio-economic status potentials were often valuated through how many cattle heads their daughters were worth, at marriage.

Other domestic animals

Dogs were kept not as pets but as securitors and also used in hunting. Cats were kept for eating rats inside and near homesteads.

Goats and sheep were and are still kept and distributed all over Busoga since they can suit almost all conditions of environments. Their numbers seem to increase as one moves towards the cattle areas, being more concentrated in marginal areas between the cattle and non-cattle areas. But these have given way to cattle specialisation and crop mixed agriculture. Bird keeping used to be more restricted to chicken, and one often hears Basoga recalling some ritualistic associations with chicken through expressing that "ENYHUMBA OMUZIRA NKOKO TI MAKA" - meaning that a house without any chicken is not a home. This confers to the fact that traditionally, every homestead was expected to keep chicken as there were many ritualistic activities which demand the sacrifice of chicken. Also it confers to the accepted traditional norms where a guest in a homestead was always entertained with a bird at meals, and if it were women guests (who were banned from eating chicken) they had to carry it home alive either to their children, husband, or both. Nowadays there are no obligations of the sort, and a lot depends on one's hospitality. Ducks and turkeys are very recently introduced by missionaries. Also there have been known attempts to tame wild guinea fowls as their meat is very tasty and valued by Basoga but this still remains an adventure for the cunning; and the bird is mainly a game-bird.

Fish

Fishing has always been significant in areas adjacent to lakes and big rivers: using hook, line, basket net and dried elephant grass stem-slice traps. Generally fishing was done by men: though in shallow waters one often saw young boys and girls trying out their baits. On the lakes fishing technology has been modernised through intruduction of fishing nets - now even produced within Uganda at an industrial level: but in rivers the hook and line methods still predominate. In swampy areas the traditional methods of trapping fish are more in practice up to now. Among the major fish types from lakes and rivers are ENGEGE (Tilapia Zilli), EBISINHYA (Nile perches), EMMALE, Ssemutundu, OBUFULU and ENSONZI (eels). All are fresh water fish.

Other domestic essentials

Salt was traditionally extracted from the filtrate of burnt wood and papyrus from swamps[1]. Stone salt (MAGADI)

1) Often, the salty filtrate (known as OLUVU) was directly used in cooking in liquid form.

was traded into Busoga from the western parts of Uganda (TORO) from where it was extracted from the salt lakes. Iron tools and weapons came from furnances outside Busoga although there were few iron-ore exploitations from within Busoga itself. Hunting used to be for sport, protection, food and ornamental uses. Particular types of dried meat from game animals are highly priced in Soga society.

Some clans specialised in particular craft-making (i.e. pottery, drums, canoes) and traded these products with the nonspecialists. However, there were crafts needed for general household utility like ENYHENDO, ENKAAYI, AMABUGA, EBITA and some pottery which were also made by all. Thus trade in Soga life has always been significant and some areas have pre-imperial contacts' reputation with neighbouring tribes and lands.

The actual perpetuation of the PDC-systems' commodity and services circulation was mainly through labour division, exchange, property and land acquisition, (and also taboo depictions). The women did all household work. They looked after EBIGOGO exclusively, and had to carry out all product transactions in the market through their husbands. The men basically traded both their skills and household products to the outer society through an "exchange market". Men also hunted game for food, ornaments and decorations: and could at times help their wives in some outdoor household work if they felt like it. Before the introduction of money, all market exchange was in barter form: between the pure agriculturalists in the central and south-western parts, and the agrico-PASTORALISTS in the north and south-eastern parts. Following this period were cowry shells (introduced by Arab traders). These were followed by introductions of the Indian rupee, and later British currency by the imperial administration.

However, actual property and land acquisition were predominantly through patrilineal clan inheritance: or patrilocal settlement after being allocated a piece of land by either a father or a clanhead. Also property other than land could either be through presents, alliances (EMIKAGO), inheritance (from both paternal and maternal relatives), or loots aquired after war. To cement the importance of inheritance and succession patterns: there were definate taboos and clan incest associated with particularised socio-economic articles (i.e. clan spears, drums and stools). Extremes of this were associations depicted to confirm male superiority in the traditional Soga Society through incest connotations to some labour division according to sex, and age. Typical examples here are the making of wooden mortars (EBINU) and their pestles (EMIKONKO); wooden cooking spatulas (EMILAWO) and the making of domestic knives used in peeling matooke, potatoes etc. (OBWAMBE). The actual making of these was solely entrusted to professional male components of Soga Society: the woodcraftsmen and blacksmiths and both professions were

depicted as male professional inheritances. But the executive legal applications of these articles were politely and honourably exclusive prescriptions to female dominance in kitchen work.

Implements like knives (ebiso and obwambe), spears hoes etc. used to be traditionally produced locally by village blacksmiths using hand bellows. However, most of these became replaced by British imports and their equivalents: undermining the local blacksmith's industry. Basoga thus became dependent on money from cash crops to get these basic home utensils that made Soga socio-economic activity a reality: and the prices of the new imports were left in the hands of Indians who owned retail shops (DUKAS). This made the African's life largely dependent on foreigners in and out of his local region. The Indians were regarded with mixed suspicions and deference by Basoga, as Indians often shot up prices more than double during cash crop seasons.

As Basoga combined subsistence and cash crop agriculture, they gradually shifted to new value influences while keeping themselves out of wage labour for a long time: even if "protectorate" impositions of taxations, goods and services purchasing penetrated village contexts. This left Soga village communities and their life-styles in PDC-systems not so radically changed up to independence in 1962. This also led to most hired labour in Busoga to be provided by immigrant Africans from other tribes in Uganda, Kenya, Ruanda/Urundi, and the north-western corners of present-day Tanzania. But this did not quite mean slackened changes in Soga domestic life: as this very adaptation to the new economic life gave Basoga one of the highest potentials (in Uganda) for sending their children to schools. Most of the schools were, in fact, concentrated in the Southern parts of Uganda near lake Nalubaale where Busoga is. Such a socio-economic setting gave Basoga better chances to take employment, outside village life, mostly in white collar jobs, or their equivalents (i.e. clerical jobs). For very long, wage labour among Basoga was offset by peasant agriculture which proved more profitable and comfortable, till national politics and national resource misallocations gradually forced them too to penetrate wage labour very reluctantly. Thus cash crop cultivation provided Basoga with money sources to acquire Western goods and services in their traditional village context, without disrupting Soga PDC-systems in organisational structures, as reflected in their housing modernisation capabilities incorporated in old traditional structures. However, Soga thought-content structures became educationally disrupted.

Fallers (1965:49-50) correctly says that "crop rotation and short term fallowing, both of which were long established in traditional agricultural practices, suffice to rejuvinate soil fertility. The dependence upon MATOOKE as

a basic food crop is both characterestic of sedentary agriculture and at the same time of the factors which make sedentary life possible. A carefully cultivated LUSUKU may remain productive for more than 50 years. Matooke thus occupy a permanent section of land holding: while the remainder is rotated among food crops, cash crops, and fallowing. This practice renders the Soga village a stable community socio-economically".

The only addendum to this is that while some basically traditional food crops (i.e. Matooke, millet, sweet potatoes) and now also cash-crops: some originally cash crops (i.e. coffee, sugarcane, groundnuts, maize) are now utilized as food crops as well. In addition, a politicised interrelationship between cash and food crops has effectively been instituted in peasant agriculture to increase their access to socio-economic means.

Important to note in Soga socio-economic life is that local community income grew somewhat due to cash crop introduction (and labour sale). But the structural changes in the economy, technology, and culture for sustained income growth and progressive integration of Soga local communities, within the national context, have dragged way off behind.

That it was not quite an imperial concern to improve agricultural technology and technical know-how to diversify agricultural productivity is revealed through most of the agricultural expertise exported to Uganda having been otherwise undergraduate, office-work semi-administrators: who mostly went in the field seasonally during cash crop harvests (and sometimes sewing periods) to supervise their home government's interests. The very few specialists that ever reached Busoga (in fact Uganda) were those related to major cash crops. Their concern here was quality improvement, rather than technological improvement. Food crop production was principally not an essential core of imperial agricultural schemes in Uganda. But food crop production has gained some momentum as an economic and political means since independence in 1962.

Unfortunately, Ugandan cadres in agricultural improvement schemes have generally been trained to wear almost the same suits as their imperial predecessors. Agriculturally, development itself in rural sphere inequalities has clearly thrusted up impacts on the pace of development as well as inequalities in the country. In Busoga (and indeed all Uganda), the vast majority of the population still consists of independent producers. These do not (except in marginal ways) depend on wage employment for subsistance, though the

urbanisation nostalgia has led some to abandon their land in search for jobs which they often never get even after months of despair. Promotion of the productivity of independent producers would need, for instance, creating incentives to bring idle land (of which there are still ample quantities) and labour into production. Such a problem is more related to ability of the public and private sectors to create incentives to increase productivity in the traditional sector.

Another problem is more related to types of PDC-systems' organisation in the traditional sector to evoke desired responses to stimuli generated by and via the private and public sectors. These two problems should be rather easy to overcome, especially as most of the traditional sector in Busoga have some surplus productive capacity: since population on land is not yet severe though rising.

Agricultural productivity in Busoga has relatively gone down low since independence mainly due to the socio-economic relationships between agricultural producers, the rest of the public, and government. The real causes of low productivity (and poverty) are not so much due to the climatological, and physical environment as they are caused by exploitative social relations in society: between most of its members and the Rich of national and international socio-economic powers. It is becoming increasingly common for the local Rich to strongly extend their reaches firmly in agricultural productivity, since it is they who have financial capabilities to scratch their ways to farm ownerships, in the modern sense of farming.

In Busoga alone, the peasant's bargaining power is immediately limited by "artificial shortage" of land, storage, transport facilities, capital and credit, commercial monopoly position, and many kinds of institutional privileges and power of the peasant's rivals in the local economy is based on monopolistic access to these same assets. Thus in bargaining the socio-economic significance of monopoly concentration of land ownership in a few hands lies not so much in the access to land that it provides to the few as it does to the denial of land to the many who, in order to gain some access to land and its fruits, are increasingly forced to contribute their labour and its fruits to the owning few. Labour contribution in this fashion is on bad bargaining terms for the many, and good ones for the few. Fallers' work on "land-tenure" in Busoga (1956) seems to have mostly dealt with the owning few who either through inheritance from former chiefly predecessors, or from further acquisition of additional land, were in socially accepted positions to utilise "land-tenure" in the manner Fallers came across in Busoga at the time of his work. Later on in 1962, Hamsworth's studies of "Kisoga land tenure dynamics" reveal how much land owners were consolidating their lordly usufruct privilages to gain socio-economic bargaining powers. At the time of my work (1972)

I witnessed the same groups of people observed by Fallers and Hamsworth, plus those who had worked their ways up in salaried and privilaged positions in the government and private firms consolidating their positions on similar motives. In some cases they were even children or relatives of the former two types observed in Fallers' and Hamsworth's times. The land that was acquired around town areas was mainly for housing construction to accomodate workers at high rents; while the land in the country was being developed for modern agricultural purposes.

In the rural product market the peasant is similarly badly off as he is in the labour market; and purchasing power of goods and services. With hardly any capital, his meagerly limited opportunities to acquaint himself with market conditions beyond his own immediate transactions, the peasant and other members of rural population face a highly monopolistic market structure. In this market structure the relatively few Rich have resource power and access to capital and credit: and these outweigh the peasant's bargaining power in the product market just as does the landowner in the labour market. The old clan-bound economy at least offerend these peasants some security which the new system does not do. Before expulsion of non-Ugandan commercialists in Uganda the powerful elite in the product market were Asian traders and manufacturers and a few African economic tycoons who were already landlords. After the departure of non-Ugandans it is increasingly becoming the landowners who are gaining trading powers: thus making landowners and traders to become strongly the same people or same family. Because of the peasant's disadvantaged position in the market both as a seller and buyer; the socio-economic market structure affects him directly and deeply. His weakened position in access to socio-economic resources forces the peasant to sell his products in the market at low prices and to buy other goods (often even his products) at escalated prices. He is also forced to accept rather than evade artificially created permanent and seasonal or other temporary restrictions in supply of the goods he buys. Landowner-peasant commercial relations are not checked well enough in the interests of public welfare. These increasing landowners are in effect becoming much more traders than agriculturalists. The real socio-economic meaning of their land ownership is not access to the land, not even access to labour which may also produce little: but it is a monopolistic access to an assured supply of agricultural produce with which to earn an income from purely commercial operations on which they are not even taxed.

There are, however, some critical criteria relative to family life in Busoga which I must clearly spell out to clarify the trends of socio-economic change effects. Basoga do not have a conjugal family that has completely excluded affinal and consanguine relatives from socially accepted normal (or even daily) socio-economic affairs. It

is true though that interaction among and between relatives is rapidly having decreased strong traditional obligations that existed for instance before the introduction of western education and money economy.

An example here would be the time decrease in mourning the dead (OKULIRA, ref. 4:1). Before, if one died, there would be a mourning period of from one week to two months from the day of burial; depending on the age of the deceased and seniority in society. This went on up to the last ceremony (OKWAABYA) where mourners confirmed death as part of life and resumed their daily activities. During the mourning period, relatives gathered in the homestead of the deceased where he/she was buried, and all this time it was the duty of that homestead to feed and be hospitable to them. Close neighbours (eMiriraano, ref. 2:4) were also obliged to contribute through helping this homestead with either some domestic work or actually bring in food (during this period). These days neighbours have no such obligations any longer. Even most homesteads think in terms of food costs and other economic expenses that go with hospitality. The mourning period is usually not more than two days, and in some cases it has been one day (the day of burial). So what in effect counts important in Soga family life these days is more a result of limits to which the family adjusts socio-economically to outside pressures. But interaction among and between relatives (especially of the first two generations) is still very high, though comparatively less binding as time goes on.

The valuational significances of these changes are manifested through Basoga's behaviours. Soga economic politics in socio-economic change is judged (in this work) upon the making of an experience (past and present) in economic life, through consumable value in terms of survival and social "rationality"; and ideological value in terms of culture and ideas of mind creativity: according to clan depictions. Basing economic politics (in Busoga) on clan depictions is linked with the fact that the clan and family were tributaries of social aspects influencing valuation and socio-economic resource distribution (and allocation) in the old Soga traditional society.

However, it should be noted that the actual recruitment of the primary components of the conjugal family (father and mother) is still depicted on clan relations' principles as already mentioned; with only very meagre contextual modifications of the old traditional Soga clan prescriptions. Whereas the gross human content of the household used to include additional clan relatives beyond the actual nuclear family: these days it is more limited to hired labourers (in case of the Rich!) who come to work

for the family in kitchen, house, and gardening work; for wages which are often insignificant. This tends to be the new pattern for the Rich whether both the husband and wife work or only the husband works. Those conjugal families which are on the margins of entering the Rich ring often have to rely on domestic assistence from near relatives whom they pay back in kind through some immediate assistence: like the wife or husband bringing a younger sister or brother to work for them while they pay school fees for him/her at a day-school and also clothe him/her.

On the other hand, for the Poor who have sought wage labour in urban areas and live hardly on socio-economic margins, real poverty problems exist. First they do not have adequate housing and food, and on top of this their close relatives from rural areas come to them for help, only ending up in packaging the little residence there might be. Soon this stack of blood relatives degenerates into despair through lack of food, adequate hygienic conditions of living, and even a trifle of financial means for socio-economic sustenance. The end results of this are often many: with high crime rates, slum creation, and prostitution being predominant. In between these three types of family trends are many variations of life-style: and there are high intensities of such case-reflections the closer to urban areas (like Jinja), and high decreases the more central one gets in rural areas. In rural areas and deep in the countryside a good deal of the old traditional Soga life-style patterns still thrive, with little contextual modifications.

Even then, what is remarkable is that most Basoga have residential places both in urban and rural areas. One does not often find Basoga in their thirties, or better still upwards around Jinja who do not have some sort of residence in some rural place: though this may not be so per se. Even if they did not actually possess own houses in rural areas, they still would have living close clan relatives with whom they have very strong traditional ties. This clearly means that the community of location and nuclear family recruitmen alone are factors which alone somehow still stabilise current Soga socio-economic activity being viewed in the old traditional Soga clan depictions, irrespective of some apparent modernised corollaries to this. Thus Basoga fluctuate between the modernised urban and old traditional rural life-styles. It would be therefore very misleading to treat each of these life-style patterns separately as if they exist independent of each other.

These reflections on Soga life-styles mean that hardly have clan socio-economic depictions disappeared in Soga local life conduct: especially relative to the old state origins. This possibly is the key issue to explaining quite a number of development problems in Busoga: like for instance why tribalism perpetuation in Uganda is such a stumbling block in Soga economy. A few development socio-economic projects in Busoga that were initiated from a national level have failed because expertise advice disregarded the necessity to penetrate the existence of basic socio-economic activities in clan context. Failure based on such mistakes owes much of its origin to former classical social anthropological studies in the so-called primitive societies, often coming from underdeveloped countries: where clans and tribes have limitedly and mistakeably been depicted based on birth alone.

From how the national economic system is tabulated (Appendix 2) I identified the most observable fields of socio-economic value change disturbances (in Soga life) as in Table 1. These are the very fields in family PDC-systems (ref. diag. 1) that I have been discussing mostly: trying to cover their related problems to observable Soga socio-economic activity. Diagram 1 illustrates most socio-economic interactions that were directly linked to pure economic survival as being mostly restricted to family circles in clan contexts. In the production of services the physical environment became more under men's control as mountains, water, forests and the general landscape were getting more re-formed to suit men's needs (momentary or otherwise). Education systematically became shaped away from the old traditional Soga type where clan ideology dominated, to new imported ideologies mainly from the west. The welfare and health services (ref. Religious Practices) that Basoga were used to were penetrated by modernised medical technology, but without direct welfare securities extended into, for instance, fields of looking after the aged.

In the production of goods we have just been examining how agriculture was affected. As far as I know there is so little direct mineral exploitation in Busoga to deserve significant discussion in this work, though it could be touched in discussing agriculture via plant nutrition. In industry, though some effects of Jinja's industrialisation are partially discussed here and there in the work (and certainly not as systematically covered as I would wish to) there are some easily observable phenomena in and around Jinja which unfortunately also have not appealed to many scientific studies in the area. These are problems related to physical pollution of en-

vironments. The contamination of Lake Nalubaale and River Kiira from urban sewage is something that needs better examination in terms of public and social costs and benefits. Gas contamination is a factor rising higher as industry develops. From the heavy industry there is yet to be serious considerations of health consequences from the sulphur dioxide gas from Kilembe copper smelter, which diffuses in areas around. The mushroom growth of slum areas near Jinja and other trading centres in Busoga (as well as Uganda) is another development problem. All these factors deserve yet more serious considerations as reflections of drags on socio-economic development.

In the distribution and consumption of goods and services the local, national and international markets are not yet analysed well enough in public interests. Whereas the main social groups that were significant in the old traditional Soga social order were in the family and clan worlds, things are not the same. Apart from extention into the national and international socio-economic structures: there are more new complex structures within involving different categories of literate and illiterate indivituals in the national tribal complexity.

Also apart from having a period time fluctuation from the ld traditional Soga social order and the modernised lifestyle there are the more frequently and more severely experienced seasonal productivity fluctuations which have been subjected to efficiency losses via political instability, inflation, and a general decreament in willingness to engage into active participation in socio-economic development by individuals.

The complexity inplied in diag. 2 cannot (as far as I am concerned) be sufficiently covered in this work (where the page numbers are very limiting). However, we still can draw out some important factors to reflect on economic conditions in Busoga. To begin with, although the internal capital inflow is stringently restricted to the Rich (who are mainly the same: landlords, top civil servants, parastatal body directors and managers and higher institutional lecturers), actual capital outflow is under foreign controls which benefit from services rendered by the local Rich as satellite representatives. Peasants and most of the local rural population hardly have any profitable access to capital (as we have seen). Actual capital circulation is therefore (as a result) mainly a privilege for the Rich and it is very limited to a few even within their circles. The circles these Rich belong to now are very different from those the Rich belonged to before the British came to Busoga. It is what makes them[1]) different from the ones before that we are tracing through socio-economic relations.

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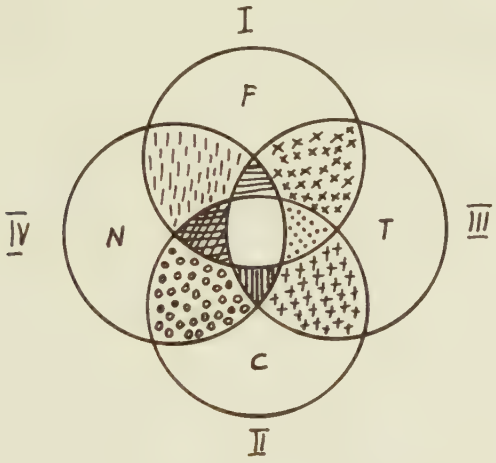
1) "them" here refers to both the Rich and their circles.

When British rule came to Busoga, modifications were incorporated in the old action levels: but still with socio-conomic activity being greatly viewed in terms of the clan. This meant that Soga socio-economic activity was to become full of interactional conflicts: readily viewed through FOUR main media (family, clan, tribe, and nation), with at least nine main combinations-conflict spheres as shown in Diagram 5.

Diagram 5. Interactional Levels Combination.



F = Family C = Clan T = Tribe N = Nation

In Diagram 5 the numbers I-IV show, chronologically, valuational importance in terms of preference alternatives. Although more detailed commentary on the Action Levels and Levels Combination diagrams can be awaited for, let us briefly explore the basic importance of Diagram 5.

Each of I-IV has 6 possible interactional levels combinations: making all of them give us 24 possible combinations. In addition each has one pure preference alternative.

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1) I-IV are preference alternatives which form loyalties in different Soga social realities, viewed in terms of the family and clan in the first degree, and then followed by tribe and national identities.

In essence Diagram 5 reflects different socio-economic action levels evaluated chronologically within I-IV. The diagram's main use is to help us examine, compare, and contrast the old Soga traditional and modernised socio-economic "structures".

Structure is utilised, in this work, to mean the existence of PDC-systems: defined as social networks of relationships through which the allocation of values is carried out. I cannote structure as possessing properties of conflict attached to socio-economic resource allocation. The allocation of socio-economic values is in terms of Wealth Yielding favouring a few: making it a structure of dominance. This Wealth Yielding matters a lot in socio-economic importance depictions. Conflict properties therefrom are mainly in relation to stability, exchange (i.e. who gains most and who loses) and value allocation.

Thus, "structure" is a concept concerning how things and ideas are put together, in how society is organised: which I will call Social Order. Like Wallensteen (1973:41) "Social order" is here used as a general concept enconpassing the operation of the total socio-economic system inside society. Social order relates to the internal operations of an individual, and by internal I mean:

a) inside society itself

b) inside the brain-thought-content of an individual in/about his society.

Social order thus becomes an aggregate concept incorporating the main characteristics of ideology, structure, interaction, and socio-economic conditions of our Soga social system. The strategic interest in establishing social order is related to the survival and security of Soga social order: and is important relative to "existence value". The crucial relation between conflict and social order is in establishing comparative and contrasting criteria between conflict-parties with regard to their originating in:

a) Same social order, like family and clan (even tribe).

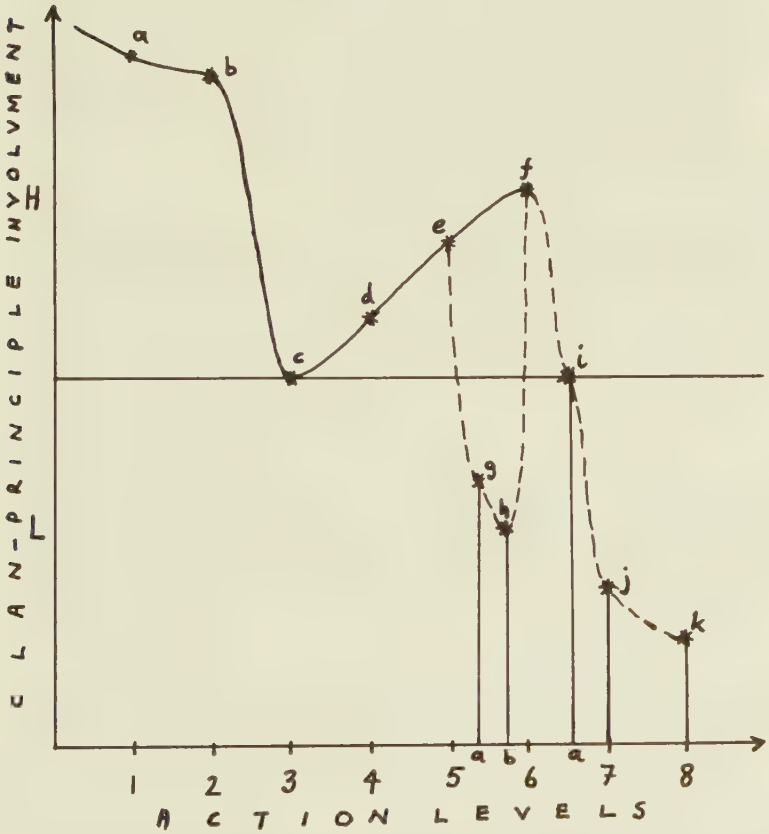
b) contradictory social order, like tribal differences.

At the local level we are confined to Basoga being viewed at the family, clan, and tribal levels. At the national level we have to go into the Uganda society: viewed at micro (tribal) and macro (national) levels. The international level of prime importance in this work is mainly confined to British imperialism in Uganda: with both the local and national levels being critical factors in international relations. Like Wallensteen (1973:43), we do not have to tie social order to a given level of social reality: because we need some dynamics of making possible alliances and conflicts between clans and tribes, as well as within clans in tribes (i.e. clan cleavage).

However, it is important to note that the concept of social order is holistic. What needs to be strictly emphasised here is that the different clans in Busoga all operated on similar principles in a common geographical location.

Since I have already emphasised that socio-economic activity was largely based on clan depictions, we can also directly diagrammatise (graphically) the actual family PDC-system's action levels (Diagram 6.).

Diagram 6. Soga PDC-system's action levels.



1. Family 2. Household 3. Village (Kyaalo) 4. Kisoko
5. Mutala 5a. Muluka 5b. Gombolola 6. Saza (state)
6a. Tribe (in this case a whole district) 7. Province
8. Nation

H = High involvement. L = Low involvement.

Note For value interpretation see Appendix 3.

Note to Diagram 6.

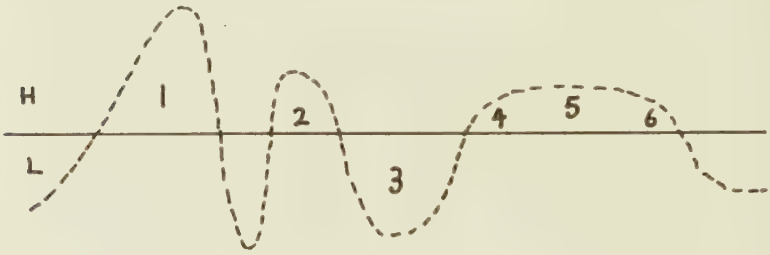
a. Whereas the complete connection a b c d e f represents the old Soga traditional PDC-system action levels: a b c d e g h f i j k represent the modernised action levels.

b. 5a, 5b, 6a, 7, 8 are British imperial organisational introductions (för administration purposes) into the old Soga PDC-system's structure.

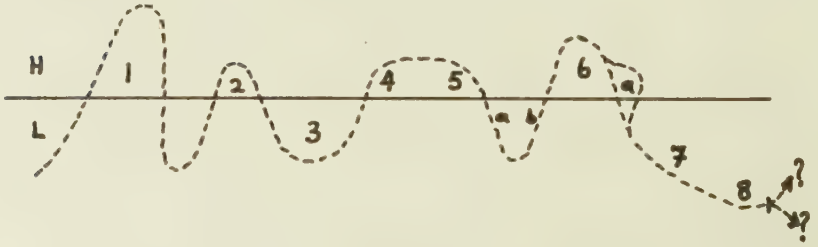
c. Although detailed commentary on this graph will come later, let us note (briefly) that "C" is on borderline in the old action levels because it was strategically used (flexibly) if village components were homogeneous clan-wise. "i" also lies on the border because it is a good strategic medium for exploitation in the wider national context.

Diagram 6 is a combined construction of two curves showing different levels of socio-economic action at which clan principles were the dominant guidelines: being utmost (optimal) at levels below (or under) the convex curvatures of the dotted line.

Curve 1. Old traditional PDC-system's action levels.



Curve 2. Modernised PDC-system's action levels.



Both diagrams 5 and 6 reveal one vital thing in common: that Basoga generally engage in evaluations at different levels to determine the extent(s) to which socio-economic benefits accruing from realisation of some socio-economic values are provided by the socio-economic items at issue. Their engagements in evaluations were therefore undertaken traditionally with reference to a tacit reference - THE CLAN. This mostly prescribed Soga socio-economic activity (in the different states) to become mainly a conflictful struggle for WEALTH PATRIOTISM. Any socio-economic interactions outside clan boundaries were tenuous, and often full of suspicion and fear. British rule accelerated a break through this isolation of clan depictions: and faced clansmen with socio-economic relations far beyond the clan-world. Conflicts arose out of social and personal levels as loyalties to the clan gradually became partially or wholly replaced by tribal and national loyalties. This, in due course, led to some institutions that were meaningful to the clan to start giving way for a wider and larger socio-economic structure. The old traditional Soga family started losing some vitality as a productive and socio-economic security-yielding unit: as PDC-systems ties became open to non-clan and non-tribal members, with more economic security being obtained through government, commerce, and industrial employment. The intimate relations with the old traditional clan divine qualities started weakening for those entering new urban socio-economic structures.

Through wealth, we can therefore relate the extent to which Basoga have been able to realise socio-economic benefits at issue in certain values. On the other hand, through patriotism, we can relate the comparative extents to which certain socio-economic values are subscribed to and displayed by Basoga under conditions of change.

Both the PDC-system's Action Levels and Interactional Levels Combination diagrams accordingly point to the family as being the primary socio-economic unit: and the clan as having high command in organisational patterns. Since the family is, in the old traditional society, a depiction of clan relations (and there exist up to now strict clan principles as to who should not marry whom etc.): and on clans rested most of organisational principles, it remains a matter of completion with what levels Basoga (individually or in aggregates) act socio-economically. This can be tabulated as follows:

Table 1. Observable Soga socio-economic activity.

	LEVEL OF ACTIVITY					
	FAMILY	CLAN	VILLAGE	TRIBE	PROVINCE	NATION
INDIVIDUAL	X	X	X	(X)		X
AGGREGATE	X	X		(X)	X	X

NOTE: a. The cells marked with X represent the most readily observable activity variates dealt with in this work: but this does not in any way exclude the empty cells as being unimportant.

b. The bracketed cells have pecularities which will become apparent.

This table partially reveals the fact that the clan, in Soga socio-economic activity, went far beyond mere psychological support as it was a survival mechanism.[1] These elements still persist in present day Basoga and most of Soga socio-economic activities are still within the same or "similarly-modified" boundaries.

In fact, there was in the old traditional society institutional incorporations for the socio-economic ethics behind this view to life: remnants of which are traceable through the Soga saying that "EKIKA KIWULA OLUGANDA". This, if literally translated, means that "A clan is preferably better than a lineage (at times)". However, there is much more life-style thought content embedded into this. Lineage among Basoga (and indeed as it should be) is limited to only consanguine relatives: and does not usually go beyond a handful of blood (by birth) relatives. This is mostly emphasised by Basoga through identifying specific relatives as "BA MUNDA NDALA", or "Children of the same womb". Accordingly one cannot marry a consanguine relative (typically the first two direct blood-relatives of one's conjugal and nuclear family), those from his paternal and maternal direct blood-relatives, and those from the same clan as a whole. The socio-economic depictions of these rules are directly linked with bride-wealth[2], clan alliances, and state foundation in the old Soga society. However, what is the basic incorporation in the above saying is that whereas one can afford doing away with some blood-relatives (like siblings: among whom rivalry quarrels are not

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1) The argument here is that to attain psychological stability one had to be self-sufficient socio-economically: at least at subsistence level, in order to sustain.

2) Through bride-wealth widened spectra of socio-economic interaction were established between different clans.

unusual): one can never be alone (or a total outcast) for as long as there are clansmen. This way one can actually afford to be disliked or hated by his/her consanguine relatives as long as there are other clansmen to get on well with. This partly accounts for both the existence and commonness of clan-cleavages among Basoga in the old traditional society (with its many states). This is also in accordance with the depictions made in the "action levels" and "levels combination" diagrams: which also partly reflect the intensity of activity involvement. (ref. Ch. 2). From this, it becomes apparent why levels of socio-economic authority in the old traditional society went from the family, clan, and state, appearing as if the other intermediary stages:

I. village in the "old action levels" (Diagram 6 and Curve 1)

II. village, muluka, gombolola, (tribe), and province: in the "modernised action levels" (Diagram 6 and Curve 2).

... did not play so much role. Actually they did very much and no socio-economic activity of any sort among Basoga can be satisfactorily examined with an ommission of even one of these intermediary stages. Fallers (1956) mistakably depicted MUTALA as the "village". Some of his descriptions fluctuated between the household, mutala, saza (state), and the larger society extending beyond the tribe.

But, in our case we scrutinise clan utility alone (among Basoga) as a point of illustration of Soga valuational depictions.

2:1 SOGA SOCIAL ORDER STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATIONAL PRINCIPLES

Because of how I defined structure and social order, it is important to note that in this particular section we will be concentrating on Soga socio-economic activity via different levels of organisation. What I would like to direct attention to are:

i) the historical development of organisation in Soga society.

ii) clan utility in Soga structure organisational construction.

iii) different levels of socio-economic activity organisation.

These three media are to help us explore the strategic interests of Soga social order, related to security and survival. Differentiation has to be made between three basic organisational categories in Soga socio-economic activities:

a) State management organisation - which is the operational political dominance organisation. This was through which the ruling dynasties accomplished dominance over commoner clans politically.

Here, because the ideal of personal and clan glories were in conflict, the political process had very strong familistic rather than public (clan) goals; and this led to privatisation of socio-economic means. Also the socio-economic means gradually became converted into political resources.

b) PDC-systems' organisation - which is the actual organisation of the real (or existential) economic activity.

Here, family socio-economic subsistance was developed through cultivation: and the main cultural and socio-economic values were geared to land, eNsuku, and all obligations and duties were structured to comply with land utility.

c) Socio-economic dominance organisation - which is the organisation of the actual and ideal preference alternatives.

This was through which clan integration normative values and commonly shared obligations were interpreted in terms of solidarity.

A thorough grip of these distinctions is essential in vividly visualising and critically assessing some past works done on and in Busoga, especially those of Fallers (1951, 1965).[1] Fallers' works deserve especial attention in this case because almost all Social Scientists who have worked near or in the same area as he did have concretely quoted him as a springboard. His work in "Bantu Bureaucracy" is a classic reference and quotation within some sociological quarters.

Precisely what the historical making of Busoga society led us to (with relevance to this work's focus) can be summed up in three stages:

Stage I

I consider the work at both the micro and macro levels: warranting Busoga's historical background (Ch. I) in order to be able to locate present-day Busoga in current Uganda.

I only touch some of what I consider to be relevant macro issues at the national level historically.

Stage II

Busoga social matrix formation is considered in terms of its heterogenous (various) tribal origins and their original social orders: which make basic differentiations of some states from others. The north-western part of Busoga is very much influenced by origins from Bunyoro and the north via Bunyoro. The north-eastern part is very much influenced by origins from north-east Uganda and Bunyoro via north-eastern parts. The central eastern part of Busoga is influenced by origins from the east (i.e. Bugishu and Buluhya), the south-eastern part by origins

1) It should be noted here very carefully that appropriate coverage of the three categories of organisation I have depicted above can only be attained after discussing Social Order, Land Law, and the economy.

from Luoland in Kenya. The south-western part (and central part) are influenced by origins from and via Buganda. Lastly, Luo influence in Busoga should be considered all the way from Sudan to Kenya, via eastern and south-ward migrations.[1]

The Basoga in the period of different states' formation were an assemblage of various tribal origins who became acquainted with each other within a common geographical location. A strained "WE" commonness was being realised within a "newly-formed" culture and tradition, after residential longevity, and common language and clan interaction, at the coming of European influence. Their strong affiliations to respective tribal origins prescribed them to distinct propagating of clan principles in socio-economic activity: as this was a practical unifying common effective factor the different tribal groups had. This in turn, conditioned them to viewing their life-span more intensively in clan models of thoughts: as opposed to wider "one people" (tribe) models. When the British clumped the different clan states together, whose social orders had already become otherwise very similar, this was in no way a solution to their traditional state conflicts in the Wealth-Patriotism Struggle. Instead, state differences became intensified and different clan's Wealth-Patriotism Struggle became escalated, perpetuating further Soga life-styles based on clan depictions.

Thus much as British rule was Basoga's cementing introduction to "one people" as a tribe, in the wider Uganda socio-economic matrix: the same rule generated categoric conflictful media (i.e. education, politics etc.) in which dominance became the sole goal of clan antagonies. This led Basoga to quickly acquire fluctuating bipolar scaling in their, now politicised Wealth-Patriotism Struggle[2] structure.

Thus, to understand Soga political activities one has to factually penetrate well enough the socio-economic importance of clan relations.

Stage III

This is the current stage in Uganda: with Basoga who are a product of forces in the second stage and the new "modernising" Uganda socio-economic matrix, treated both at the micro and macro levels.

To comprehend what was (and is) involved in these three stages was the auspy behind directing interest to Bakenhye

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1) These differentiated influences are easily verifiable not only from the historical descriptions laid down in this work: but even more outstandingly through dialect differentiations in Busoga.

2) Wealth-Patriotism Struggle will now be abbreviated to WPS in the rest of the texts to follow.

river nomads (ref. Q:2). I mentioned that these served as organisational linkages to Soga states, and between interior hunters, agriculturalists, and Luo pastoralists. The same people were the pioneers of a mixed type of economy: being fishermen who took on cultivation and pastoral activities. As a result of these people's effects on the old Soga socio-economic structure, Basoga had long practiced mixed PDC-systems for their subsistence (and trade). What the introduction of cash-crops, education, and the money economy did was to restruct Basoga's socio-economic values to suit the new national structure, relative to the original Soga traditional values. To examine (well enough) the impact these change trends have had on the Soga general socio-economic, domestic and public lives (especially through their organisational structures) is a deepened historical perspective necessary.

The historical revelations we have come across lead to refuting Fallers' scepticism about Busoga's history (1965:27-37). There is more than enough evidence on Busoga's history. Neglection of Busoga's historical background, to as deep as necessary, led Fallers to shortcomings like where he confuses Babito with Bahima (1951:1) in his "The Power System of Busoga". Babito are the Jo-Bito who came from Luo conquerors in Bunyoro-Kitara. Ocholla (1974) and some data I also came across reveal these people to be very different from Bahima.

BITO is a type of tree that grew in Acholi and it was used to make chiefs' (or royal) chairs.[1] In Bunyoro, the eating dishes of some old rulers (kings) were also made from that same tree: and it was traditionally incorporated in Nyoro culture that makers of the king's dishes and chairs used to travel to Acholiland (to near or inside Payera) for getting that special tree. This was during Jo-Bito dominance period after Chwezi rule downfall. Careful examination of these old dishes and chairs reveals that they had almost similar (if not same) decorations. The group of Acholi found in the areas where this tree thrived appear (historically) to have come from the north in areas of Shilluk/Luo.

A break up of the words JoBiTo and Babito reveal further contradictions to calling them "of Hima origin" like Fallers did (1951:1). "Jo" is the plural of "Ji", meaning PEOPLE (Jo) and PERSON (Ji) among Luo Nilotes. "Bi" is a word associated with come or enter. "To" is a short form for "Tong" in the Nilotic languages meaning a spear. The history of the Jo-Bito ruling dynasties in Bunyoro and elsewhere in Uganda reveals them to be a powerful people who came inland and won supremacy by the spear. This makes them "people who came by the spear". This is exactly how

1) To understand this follows from analysing folklore, tribal histories, and material culture.

they won dominance in Bugabula and Bulamogi: which are old states in Busoga. Fallers' work is apparently limited to Bulamogi and Busambira. Going further, the branches of the Bito tree were specifically valued in making spear shafts in Bunyoro and Acholi. In "old" Busoga the tree whose branches (or stems if young) were valued in spear-making (of spear shafts) is OMUZU. This was apparently the same species and generum like the Jobito tree. Some of the ruling dynasties had their chiefly chairs specially made from the same tree. Due to such valued use of the tree by many people, the treespecimen became overconsumed and in fact neared extinction in Busoga. Further still, the Bito tree was (among the Acholi) a ritual tree, in the sense Basoga used media to their creator (Kibumba/Katonda).[1] Also if one examines very carefully designs of (and on) spears, shields and huts for ancestral spirits in Acholi (and a few other Nilotic tribes in Uganda) as well as some burial huts for kings in Bunyoro, they all point to a Luo origin from the north.[2] In fact in Bunyoro alone these designs change markedly between the fall of Chwezi dominance to Jo-Bito dominance.

Strangely enough, similar Jo-Bito spear, shield, and burial huts for kings can be found at Kasubi in Buganda. A correlation of this is only explicable through careful examination of different throne fights among Baganda kings. One gets struck by finding these fights to be originating from Chwezi/Jobito dominations. Under these are embedded some of the years old hatreds and fights between Buganda and Bunyoro kingdoms. For as long as the other kingdoms neighbouring Buganda (in what is now called Ankole) were remnants of old Chwezi empires, most of whom were pressured by the Jo-Bito southward, (to these areas and Buganda) Ganda target was naturally the Jo-Bito in Bunyoro-Kitara. The Jo-Bito had aims of extending the Bunyoro-Kitara empire beyond present-day Bunyoro, Toro, Buganda, and Busoga. In Busoga, the Jo-Bito were known as Babito: just as other Bantu-speaking peoples referred to them. The word "Jo" was substituted for by "Ba" which is the plural prefix for people in Bantu languages spoken in Busoga and the neighbourhoods.

Further substantion to Jobito cultural spread from the old Bunyoro-Kitara empire can readily be found through very careful examination of praise songs to kings and chiefs, war songs, and war games. These were commonly practiced by kingly or chiefly courts in Bunyoro, Buganda,

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1) See the section on Religious Practices in this work.

2) This again (like ft. 1 on p. 99) is best achieved through examining folklore, tribal histories and material culture.

Acholi, Lango, and Busoga.[1] The word contents in most of these refer to "we the powerful people of the spear, the mighty and rightful rulers of the weak and feeble clans that needed our divine protection". All these point out Babito to be different from Bahima, and it is im-comprehendable to mix up these two groups like Fallers did.

Through Busoga's historical background, I portrayed Soga social order to have undergone socio-economic development from single homestead activities to a very complex order in which individuals and all their relatives became incorporated in the "new" national socio-economic matrix (ref. diag. 4).

Whereas the old Soga traditional residential location is eKyaalo, these days some Basoga in urban areas orientate themselves to living in housing quarters in town where they pay monthly rents. This eKyaalo (village) is not what Fallers (1965:51) defined as a Soga village (OMUTALA). The two are very distinct and different organisational levels, with district leaders playing different but coordinated roles.

The true Soga village (eKyaalo) is indeed a group of dwellings varying in proximity: some being more clustered in some areas of Busoga than in others, and have varieties of boundary demarcations ranging from a mere establishment of a simple path to forest and small streams or even water wells. On the other hand OMUTALA is an authority demarcation area (mostly political) enclosed in a stretch of region, usually co-extensive with an area of high land between swamps, over which villages (and not homesteads) are scattered in a more less uniform distribution. The two are very clearly distinguished by all Basoga. But, due to the differenes in population distributions, some villages are indeed so extensive in some parts that one could very easily confuse them with eMitala (plural of oMutala), especially so as in fact the same boundaries are used to demarcate village boundaries in some areas of Busoga. However, these differences are clear to Basoga themselves; although historical records (even in Local Government legal documents) reveal that some cunning Basoga who sought power-dominance extensions tried on and off to exploit the similarities in some boundaries (between eKyaalo and oMutala) to annex more territory.[2] This was especially after noticing that some

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1) These praise songs and war games I even had heard and seen personally (between 1954-1961) in Busoga; on what used to be called Kyabazinga's Day.

2) Again, here, apart from having had some access to some court case documents of this nature during research (1972-73): I had earlier (1954-61) had personal observations at the District Headquarters Court; during when my father served there as Treasurer.

influential local administrators were mostly newcomers in the area who were not well-acquainted with the original boundaries over which intense disputes sometimes developed. Clearly, the two are different organisational levels, with different leaders and origins: the lack of which led to basic misinterpretations in Soga life based on calling oMutala the village like Fallers propagated. This means that what Fallers (1956, 1965) talks about as a village headman is not the true Soga village headman, who should be a senior ǿMutaka weKyaalo. It should also be noted here at once that being a senior ǿMutaka did not necessarily mean wielding political authority though often this was enticed in their duty tactics.

Referring to the stages of state development, it stands out clearly that the initial stages of state-founding go back to the arrival of bands of migrants who were usually clan or family members. The very first settlers established a village domain with more than one homestead, and usually named the village after their leader. All these first settlers became the aBataka beKyaalo (village founders), with senior members being more senior, and with their leader as the chief ǿMutaka who was the true village headman originally. Due to population growth, through marriages, and attractions of other members (preferably clansmen) from elsewhere, who came in as late arrivals; and also from mere desires for regional extensions: these settlers' regional domain extended to include more than one village and an administrative post (EKISOKO) was created to govern all these villages. Again the senior ǿMutaka (now a WPS power pivot) became the natural bait to be taken on as eKisoko chief, among the village clan-members (apart from him possibly having been their leader as well). Where such a Kisoko chief had been leader as well in the first place, he was litigated to appoint another clansman to take on the lower-level duties he himself had outgrown. In some places in Busoga some appointees were merely other clansmen next in seniority, in others they were younger brothers to the Kisoko chief, and in others they were actual putative sons of the Kisoko chief.

Village names were often given after the first chief village-founder, though also some other forces (like those related to eNkuni) could in fact have been given first priority. The new post (eKisoko chief) was named so in accordance with the new types of duties he was responsible for. This Kisoko-chief was entrusted with selectively assessing and choosing which types of new settlers were to be accepted and naturalised (as citizens) in the villages that belonged to the clan he was responsible to (and often for) in his services. This he did through a long-term process which was best discussed (and comprehended) when we dealt with land law. But it is important to note that the duties this man had as a Kisoko chief were now more specialised, and different, from those

he had as a senior Mutaka: where his chief concern was to safeguard the welfare of his villagemates without necessarily interfering in their homestead socio-economic activities and at the guidance and supervision of the village council. The village council was usually composed of senior aBataka and senior clansmen representatives where alien clans[1] had been permitted to settle on similar grounds (soils) as the founder-clan. Even at village levels, each clan still was entitled to and had a separate clan council, and this was one of the most effective ways in which ruling clans and royal dynasties authenticated their dominance in the WPS.

The naming of the new administrative region encompassing more than one village (eKisoko) is directly linked with the Kisoko-chief's duties. The word "okusoka", in Lusoga means to "fill with" some solid matter into something (i.e. rice in an empty sack, or better still to fill potatoes in a bag). Since the duties of a Kisoko-chief were mainly to fill villages with newcomers, it was thought logical enough to name the region he was responsible for eKisoko (meaning the empty zone he was charged with to be filled.[2]

Later on, with more regional expansion, a larger area including more than one Kisoko was reached and this they called oMutala. The same leader got accepted by his subjects, depending on his influence and relations with those he led, and now took a new position as oMutala-chief. He then had to appoint a new Kisoko chief to replace him: as his duties as oMutala-chief would now prompt him to concentrate more on pure political dominance organisation and maintenance of the new clan regional domain. The appointments of those below him were mainly based on clan depictions, observed through age and residential longevity in eKyaalo. The new ǿMutala chief consolidated his powers by ensuring both influence and dominant power relations over aBataka, eBisoko chiefs, and the entire population in the oMutala through complex manoeuvres cemented by specialised traditional ritualistic ceremonies and offers. As a matter of fact, this power consolidation complex also became a source of deep conflicts which often ended up into clan cleavages.[3] On the other hand, where

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1) Alien clans here are those which are not the original founders of the region they are allowed to settle in, by those who were there before.

2) The explanations given in this work concerning meanings of eKyaalo, eKisoko, oMutala and other word analyses used in this work were explained and taught to me by two pensioned uncles of mine who served in the bureaucracy more than 10 years each.

3) This is very readily validated through examining clan genealogies, in the process of different state formations in Busoga's history.

it was successful it positively led to clan fusions, as some outside clans affiliated themselves with some strongly established clans, for some reason or another.

The highest stage that had been reached, in political dominance, among Basoga at the coming of european influence was that where more than one ómutala were enclosed to form what Basoga call eIsaza (nowadays known as the county). eIsaza is what is meant by "state" in discussing Soga state foundation. The reason why aMasaza (plural of eIsaza) are referred to as states is that each of them was structured, worked, and was run as a kingdom in entity. These aMasaza were founded by the same éMitala founders who aspired to expand their political domains. When they became éIsaza-chiefs, they appointed clansmen to replace them in their duties as éMitala-chiefs on similar clan depictions as those used in appointing the other lower-level chiefs I have already touched.

The actual differences in state survival lay in how these topmost chiefs ran and organised their power and authority hierarchies. Some saw to it that only their clans, and not necessarily family relatives (or siblings), held power from the lowest to the highest levels in the hierarchy. Others confined the topmost post (éIsaza-chief) to conjugal family relatives, and left the rest to clansmen. There were also some state rulers who categorically preferred, from a tactical point of view, to let some guest-clans in their political domains take rule of lower-level hierarchical organisations. Still other rulers were known to have introduced non-clan members in some of their power hierarchies, even at the disapproval of fellow clansmen. However, at each of these different levels of political (and socio-economic organisational) integrations there was a clan council that went with the ruler or official in charge. As quite a number of these different level leaders became eschewed in potential downfalls that they were exposed to, they categorically devolved their duties and power maintenance upon their family relatives on a herediatary basis or imitations of this. (Compare this with present day one-party power maintenance systems in some independent African countries.) Because of the nature of wealth that was involved in the type of dominance, meant to be political, ideals of personal and clan glories confronted each other: and this led to very strong familistic rather than public (clan) goals with more privatisation of socio-economic means. This indeed was the main reason for my categorising "state management organisation" from both PDC-systems' organisation and socio-economic dominance organisation. This is also where lies the big differences in regional extensions in old Soga states, and the states after British rule introduction into Busoga. Also this is

where the base-root causes of the many state war and conflicts lay.[1]

The powerful clan leaders embraced two to twenty éMitala to form éIsaza, while the less powerful clan leaders hardly went beyond two to four éMitala. Simply because there were various differences in size in éMitala (some enclosing hardly beyond two éBisoko, while others had two to six éBisoko) the British imperial agents in Busoga introduced a "micro" organisational subdivision (oMuluka) to weave together a limited, and numerically categorised number of éMitala, for power consolidation. The name oMuluka (singular form for eMiluka) suited perfectly in the local language since "okuluka" means to weave. These newly-introduced éMiluka chiefs became the lowest level paid civil servants in the "protectorate government" (via local government hierarchies). Everyone else above these was also incorporated into government payrolls. But, all éMitala chiefs were left aside both from payrolls and official recognition by the imperial administration hierarchy, much as they still existed in local Soga life conduct socio-economically. This means that their losses did not lead them to accept the new setting passively as they still could upgrade themselves socio-economically in the new market structure. The same happened to those chiefs below eMitala.
Now the actual appointments of éMiluka chiefs and all their chiefs above them became an issue subjected to the approval of the imperial government, via local government representatives. The old éMitala regions of domain were similarly dealt with as in the case of éBisoko, and a new office of rule (éIgombolola) was introduced via the payroll and next in authority to éIsaza. With these new introductions entitling all rulers above éMiluka chiefs to enter payrolls, came also British power management through enforcing own taste appointments to office, operating even outside clan limits, in terms of state founders: and these were usually from the educated and relatives of favoured allied originally traditional chiefs. Inevitably, the power distribution complexes involved had deeply-rooted conflict bases: depending on what went on in a particular state. This was in addition to the many clan cleavages and fusions which were typical in Busoga's historical development. Whereas some aMasaza chiefs were retained and directly incorporated in the imperial hierarchy, some were completely deprived of their rights, others were boiled down to smaller offices, and others disappeared in the imperial government in some services very alien

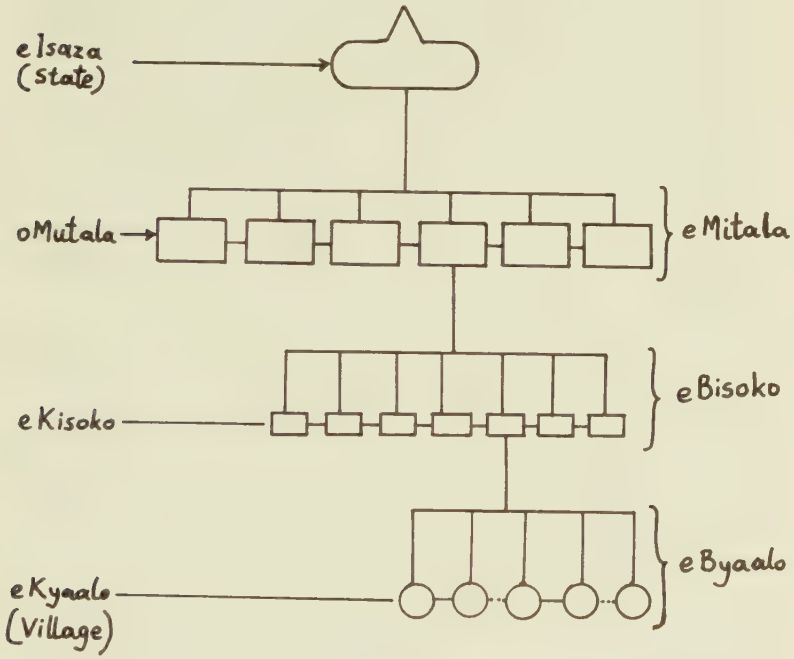
1) This is readily verifiable throughout Busoga merely by listening to old displaced and often defunct traditional rulers who prestigeously narrate much about the past "glorious olden" days.

to what they had been used to, and certainly not so valued clanwise as what they lost. Some éMitala chiefs snarled on in the changing society as individuals, and some took on new lingering forms of WPS still with a hope of reinstalling their old statuses though not at all like what they enjoyed before. But, all éBisoko chiefs and those below them at village (eKyaalo) levels were left intact and they continued living in old life-style patterns according to clan and Soga traditional depictions. Because of this, British rule never penetrated the old Soga traditional bureaucracy down to grassroot levels. Out of this were to come many failure shortcuts in socio-economic planning as whatever plans were to come thereafter were often detached from real value life realities in local life conduct of the people these were planned for. Even those Basoga who participated in such planning did it as entrusted duties, from the government service point of view, far detached from their village and local life actitivies otherwise. On the one hand Basoga became subjected to the now "modernising" socio-economic structure, through governmental and later on educational forces, while on the other they owed faith and happiness to the old traditional life-style which depended mostly on clan depictions. Unfortunately, even after at least ten years of the "so-called" independence from imperial rule, those African rulers who took over both at higher and lower levels have done not much to incorporate grassroot level hierarchies in a beneficial manner to the socio-economic structure as a whole, much as the real economic productivity of the country sprouts from these. This in itself is one of the many contributory factors to social difference escalation. But it should also be made very clear at once that the lower level chiefs who were left intact by the new political organ became subjected to other value challenges via the education system (formalised), and market economy they participated in as cash-crop producers.

Very cautiously, though, it should be sneaked in that the "strain belching" of old traditional values in the "modernising" socio-economic structure was in the first instance more concentrated to old chiefs who were directly deposed by British rule, and the immediate generation thereafter who suffered fits of valuepatterns undermoded in the changing Soga life-style. This is an earmark of the deposed chiefs and Basoga in that era were to undergo alien value moulding via the "europeanised" new socio-economic structure. Though British rule never quite penetrated Soga bureaucracy up to the lowest organisational levels, the education system that was introduced (for those who had access to it) was shaped to tantamount old traditional Soga socio-economic values, since it systematically detached chilren from their culture in the critical

periods of their life-cycles. I will represent the old Soga organisational structure (which was disrupted)[1] diagrammatically as:

Diagram 7. The old traditional organisational structure.



The socio-economic effects the new political organisation structure had on the old life-style patterns require germane sifting, more especially so since they overlap with the political effects on the entire socio-economic structure via more complex development stages of the PDC-systems. As started earlier (0:3), Busoga society consisted of a repetition of numerous political subdivisions of essentially common socio-economic patterns and organisational structures, at the time of British influence arrival. Soga local PDC-systems had long bypassed the hunting and gathering stages, and Basoga were already practicing a mixed agriculture economy. That

1) Both the representation of diag. 8 and diag. 9 are based on a re-examination (1972-73) of the administrative hierarchies my father worked in, in Busoga's treasury department: for more than 23 years.

some of the settlers, who were to form Busoga, were drawn together by traditions of common flight, common river economy, marriage webs, and by a growing interdependence between pure nomads and the more settled cultivators clearly points out that in the first instance the basic Soga PDC-systems (at village levels) were organised on principles of clan and kinship relations for stability and state-founding purposes. Any socio-economic transactions that went on between parties in the different founder-regional moulds were mostly entrused in clan relations. These were often cemented through marriages, with ritualised bride-wealth. This meant that daily Soga life mostly involved facial contact between family and kinship members, with little spread beyond clan boundaries.

The fusion of cash-crops in Soga PDC-systems was easy since they were already a mixed agriculture people for subsistence, and this partly accounts for why Basoga took lead (in Uganda) in cotton production (apart from climatological favours for cotton in this part of Uganda). Later on, coffee also became incorporated in Soga PDC-systems in hilly areas near lake Nalubaale. At the industrial wake (through Jinja) Basoga were already too intensely attached to agriculture that no real incentives existed for them to become industrial workers then. This meant more intensification and confinement of socio-economic factors of production activity to family and household circles. A new move that came was to have most Soga organisational patterns still being depicted around the family and a now systematically extended household (as they began to let in wage-labourers who squatted on their homesteads) as foci. These socio-economic foci were integrated into the larger PDC-systems mainly on clan and kinship relations. However, now more intensified collective village activities started creeping in: as they sought more power for price control of their cash-crop in the market.[1] From this developed even more complex joint activities which eventually led to establishing proper socio-economic cooperative organisations like Busoga Growers Union. But even then most of the issues concerning production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services remained household issues at large.

Because of the founding and settlement land-interests in this type of WPS, both economic and political protections were deeply vested in the power structure, and hence the land law became deeply intertwined with power distribution: making land a core of economic, social and political existence among Basoga (apart from the old religious-centred socio-economic activities that existed long before). These were, firstly, basic socio-economic changes at village levels.

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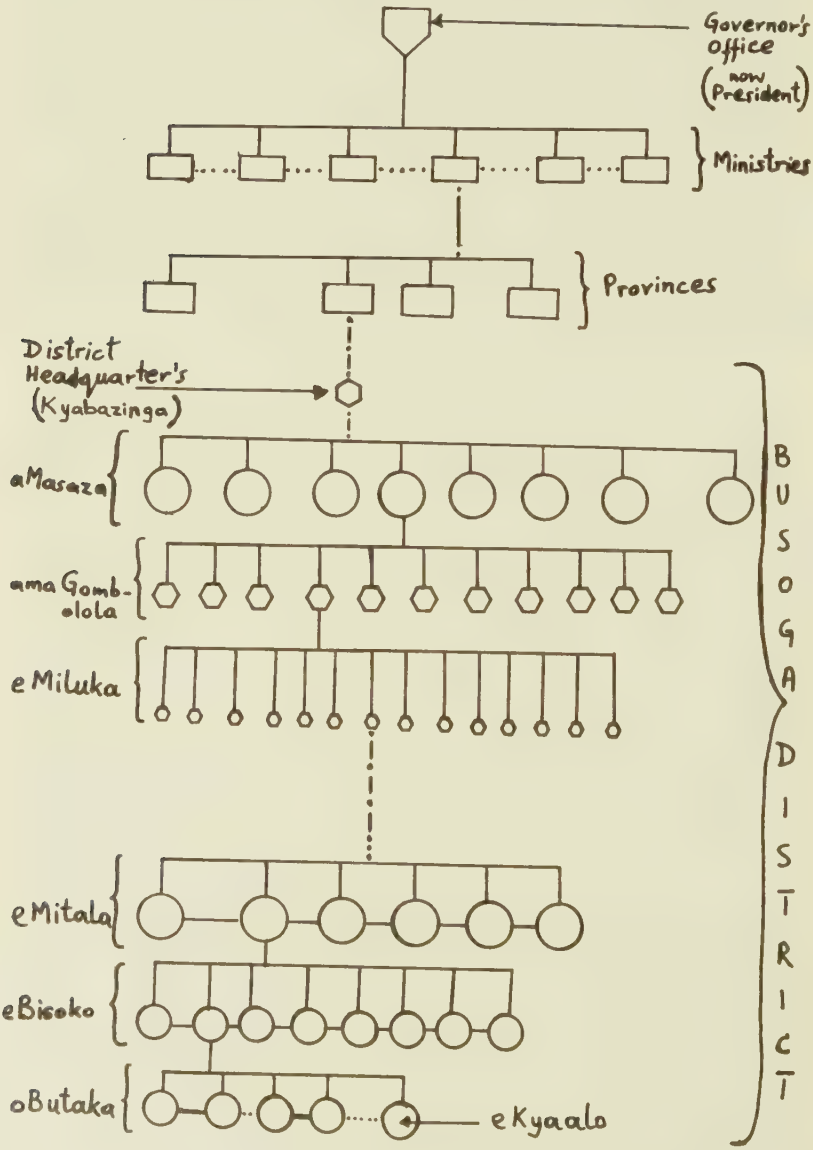
1) Behind this reasoning is a partial explanation to why Cooperative Agricultural Production strongly prospered in this part of Uganda - in connection with cash-crop (cotton and coffee) marketing.

On top of all these, what is a village (eKyaalo) is not in the least what Fallers (1956, 1965:51) distinguishes as the village. What he calls the village is oMutala, and this is very different from eKyaalo which is the real Soga village. To depict the basic organisational level in Busoga as starting from oMutala level means ommitting the very basic existential values on which Soga traditional socio-economic life-style depended. This, in addition, points out there being some basic political issues in Soga life which either get left out or get completely misunderstood.

The actual incorporation of Busoga into the Uganda national administrative structure was not so hard as the patterns had already been set for higher level integrations. I will represent, diagrammatically, the new district/protectorate chain of power distribution like on the following page.

Diagram 8. The "protectorate-influenced" organisational structure.



NOTE: Dotted lines show graded detachment from the top.

The true systematic organisational arrangements of these institutions (running from Family to Nation) is:

1. Family - made up of conjugal and nuclear relatives.

2. Household - made up of the family, some clan relatives (usually), and maybe servants (and indirect slaves in the old traditional society).

3. Village (KYAALO) - a regional division of more than two households, with various types of boundaries.

4. KISOKO - a regional division of more than one village but often below three villages.

5. MUTALA - a regional division of more than one Kisoko.

6. MULUKA - a regional division of more than one Mutala.

7. GOMBOLOLA - a regional division of more than one Muluka.

8. Saza (state) - a regional division of more than one Gombolola.

9. Tribe - a regional division of more than one Saza. This may be large enough to form a district (as Busoga), or the actual tribal territorial extension may be so large as to permit district subdivisions in one province (as in Buganda).

10. District - may be one tribe, half a tribe, or less a tribe, or even many tribes clumped together.

11. Province - a regional division of more than one district.

12. Nation - made up of more than one province.

NOTE:

a. There exists an obscured definition of TRIBE in Uganda and most African countries that were subjected to colonial or imperial rule at one time in their history) as a result of 9 and 10.

b. Numbers 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 12 are British imperial introductions in Uganda.

c. In Soga state foundation period, socio-economic supremacy was maintained through (top to bottom) 8, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1.

1) See also Fallers, L.A., Bantu Bureaucracy (1965:97) - Chicago Press.

Through this organisational hierarchy, the imperial authorities conditioned snarling disowned Basoga (who belonged to the old traditional social order) to actively participate in the new socio-economic structure as cash-crop agricultural producers, at a local basis, without contributing much to real agricultural technological development.[1] This offered temporary interactional absorption until later on when forces of the international socio-economic structure, and a growing "elite group" within Uganda, began wiping out most potential WPS advancement opportunities: through international inflations and the development aid industry, as well as escalated differences between the Rich and Poor both at local and national levels, and at international levels.

With these sprang up interest conflicts related to different appointees at different levels, who in order to consolidate their power positions had to rely on clan-related key lower level population supports. Some áBataka strains in Busoga who visualised the socio-economic significance of the new introductions also started political manipulations which reached the peak between 1940 and 1956, in attempts to restore and protect land rights. They formed a distinct Bataka Party (mainly political) which became manifestly banned by the protectorate government between 1956 and 1958. Because of the original Soga traditional land law, and clan and kinship attachments to power distribution in the old Soga states; basic key socio-economic issues were attached to political integration in Busoga. What Fallers (1956, 1965) describes as "the changing role of the village headman" (who, according to him should have been ǿMutala chief and not ǿMutaka) can be easily explained in terms of the effects of socio-economic development on traditional organisational structure.

His view that village organisation, where it occurred, was not so valued as the clan becomes easily misleading where changing socio-economic benefits become predominantly critical: as indeed the stability of any one Soga state was traditionally accepted to be cemented on clan organisation, right from the village levels.

Elders in Busoga, where they were of any importance at all, were traditionally mainly geared to village (eKyaalo) levels where almost always áBataka chiefs were appointed on age and residential time-length merits, as well as based on influence capabilities. This clearly means, though, that

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1) As long as cash-crop production fused well in the old traditional agricultural technology, with enough revenue gains to imperial interests: then it was not so much an official concern to improve agricultural technology up to modern standards as this would have added to imperial costs in maintaining the Uganda Protectorate.

even age alone was no guarantee to village leadership. To depict any changes at all, in Busoga, one has to start from the household (or homestead) relations and trace all the way up to state and national structure organisations, in terms of value changes (ref. tables 2-4, and diagrams 2 and 5).

Another important difference and relation between eKyaalo, oMutala,clan and kinship relations can only be understood if one is acquainted with Lusoga language semantics. This no single social scientific researcher in Busoga up to my time had bothered to explore even to a minimal level.

The word eKyaalo is associated with preparation of a "flat" even surface for lying on. For instance "oKwaala" (o + kwa + ala) means to make a bed or a place for sleeping in. aKatandaalo (a + katanda + alo), or what Fallers (1956) calls "a drying rack for dishes" is in fact an elevated flat rack made in exactly the same way as old traditional beds were made, and it is used for drying dishes on. "akatanda" in aKatandaalo is merely another form of calling a small bed as beds are called eBitanda, (eKitanda in singular form). Another word associated with these is "oMugandaalo", used to describe a state of affairs like where a satisfied lion (after its meal) completely relaxes, as if it did not care about anything else in life, on its back flatly with limbs in the air. This is equally descriptive of "satisfied" individuals (usually after a meal) in a variety of ways ranging from a polite comment to sheer despise. The Soga logic here is relative to the fact that when we eventually die and we are buried, we lie down permanently. The Soga attachments to land, and banana (aMatooke) gardens (eNsuku) is related to "oKwaala". eKyaalo (village) is called so in relation to this as well. This is the basic auspy behind Soga traditional obligations, to new settlers, in giving first priority (often after oMugaire gwa Kintu) to planting a banana garden (oLusuku). This oLusuku was not only for economic utility, since all the dead were traditionally buried in eNsuku. eNsuku are also commonly called eBigogo, which actually is the physical description of the plantain that produces aMatooke. Thus a traditional Soga village can typically be sighted even at a distance simply by looking for banana gardens.

The preparation and careful looking after of eNusuku was thus manifestly linked with the fact that dead family members (and clan lineages) were to finally rest in these gardens at burials. That occupants of a village shared out land on an individualised land law system was to litigate their deep-rooted socio-economic sentiments on land. In Lusoga language, reference to people of the same village (bakuKyaalo kilala) means that they share the same village (eKyaalo) where they will, or at least were expected to, be finally buried. In this sense they share the same "permanent" bed in earth. Thus, the village occupants (who traditionally were preferably of the same clan) shared the same bed (now burial land), though distributed according to specific homestead (aMaka) private regional demarcations in eNsuku.

To emphasize this, people who came from the same village (eKyaalo) were obliged to go to each and every funeral that occurred in the ɛKyaalo. If one failed to do this without very good reason (i.e. sickness or far away on a long visit) then ostracisation would be the punishment, and often village councils decided to expel such people from their region as such behaviour was considered inhuman. Thus eKyaalo, which was the true primary socio-economic life activity region of traditional Basoga was given to the "village" as a name based more less on sheer regional protectionism.

In Lusoga "dislike" was principally called "eitazi". To dislike a person was "oKutala ... X ...", and a person who disliked others was similarly called "oMutazi". We have seen that oMutala was a regional mould expansion in Soga political life, to include more than one ɛKisoko at least. Under such conditions the oMutala was also the traditionally legitimised region in which certain things (mostly aspects of socio-economic behaviour directly linked to politics) that were disliked (oKutala) by the specific ɔMutala chief could not be practiced, as this was his domain. Thus this area of political domain was accordingly called oMutala: authorising the chief there to legally punish anyone who did what was disliked in that ɔMutala by the chief and/or his subjects. Thus the three Lusoga words, eKyaalo, eKisoko, and oMutala have fundamentally different socio-economic meanings and sentimental attachments which need to be carefully sorted out from each other to avoid confusion.

In eKyaalo all cultivatable land is included in one's homestead holding and integrated into a cycle of crop rotation. Each homestead, with its dwellings, its ɔlusuku and its cultivated and fallow plots became a fixed unit around which very powerful sentiments of attachment developed. This made land to be integrated in old Soga traditional socio-economic and organisational principles in life-style based on clan and lineage: but did not directly mean that land was the core around which organisation was based (as Fallers put it). This pattern of stability is critical to Soga old traditional life-style as it underlies the fierce attachments to a particular bit of soil, characteristic of the Soga cultivator, and gives him a bond of kinship with peasant farmers over the world. The national economic development (in British imperial contexts) allowed Basoga to participate in the economy and receive external trade benefits with minimal readjustements in the village FDC-systems' structures: as cash-crops became supplemented to subsistence. This was early realised and officially encouraged by the "protectorate" government which made it part of its policy against the alienation of land to non-Ugandans, with a major emphasis based on the cultivation of cash-crops on peasant small land holdings. Whereas all these activities were (and are) mostly done and governed within family contexts: the family's existence was within clan depictions.

2:2 THE FAMILY

Both the clan and family, in old traditional Soga life, were so closely related, interwined, coordinated, entangled, and interdependent: that although they can be separately distinguished as such, they overlapped so much that I think the best basic failure to satisfactorily understand Soga life reality would be to treat them independent of each other. However, before their combined detailed treatment it is necessary to distinguish each for both problem identification and boundary selections. Due to how I look at the economy, I treat the family as the basic social unit[1]: whose production is for survival consumption.

The actual distribution of family socio-economic products among its members is a matter of valutation in their survival preferences, executed within their clan, tribal, and/or regional, and national socio-economic interactional depictions. In the family, influence and role assignments are the key relationships in the socio-economic structures: and operative value-systems are based on these.

In the old traditional Soga family the operative value-systems were patternly depicted on clan principles, mostly. Because of these life activities, in addition to being responsible for the recruitment into society and socialisation of new individuals: the family qualifies to be regarded as basic. The family was and still is Basoga's traditionally relevant social cohesion unit, through clan litigation. One's loyalty was first meant to be confined to family patriclan members: rendering a tight tributary for social aspects that influenced valutation and socio-economic resources distribution. This made the family also to be a means through which socio-economic spectra were extended, through intermarriages.

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1) Treating the family as the basic social unit is derived from Hoselitz, B.F.; and Smelser, N.J. in INDUSTRIALISATION AND SOCIETY, 1970, p 11-47 - UNESCO.

2) Such a treatment is in accordance with my treating production, distribution and consumption as interdependent variables.

A typical old traditional Soga family used to be conjugal[1], nuclear[2] or both. It was generally composed of the husband, wife or wives, their children, and blood or extended[3] family relatives: all living in one homestead.

Soga family was patriarchal, patrilineal, and practiced patrilocal, neolocal, or ambilocal settlement after marriage. The Soga family was responsible to ongrowing individuals in many respects: among which were teaching cultural values, providing security to the young and aged, guarding moral ethics (by adults and the aged members of the family), and maintaining social control. Commonly, when a child was weaned, the child had to alternately visit grandparents (patriclan ones in the first degree) and patri aunts and uncles, to start being versed in clan matters.

The duties of the husband and wife were different and clearly demarcated. The husband was the master and autocratic leader of the family and had unlimited powers. While the wife was (or wives were) engaged mostly in agriculture, the husband hunted for meat and embroidery for them and the house(s): but was not totally excluded from agricultural activities. In fact, where there were forests the husband (and sons if any) had to make the first clearance before cultivation was begun. He (with the help of sons if any) built and repaired houses in the homestead, looked after the courtyard, and provided barkcloth for the family's clothing and bedroom uses.

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1) Conjugal family = father + mother + children.

2) Nuclear famil h = conjugal family + patri or matrilineal relatives.

3) Extended family = 1 + 2 + even nonclansmen (i.e. servants), living in the same homestead. This menat the larger the number of family members the richer were socio-economic resources, in terms of labour intensity.

If he could not make clothing then he had to barter it from whatever other skills he had (i.e. making drums, spears etc.) with another who had barkcloth. The wife was the provider of food which she got through cultivation or collecting from the forest and surrounding neighbourhood. She was also entrusted with socialising the children in their early ages, although at puberty the boys had to go under the direct control of either the putative father or the other consanguine fathers.[1] Females used to be lower in status socio-economically and categoric participation in the economy and polity were accordingly ascribed to them.In early life of the offspring the wife was the custodian of the social, cultural and other fundamental values of the society to which the family belonged. She also played a major role in the cleanliness of the home and children depending on her attitudes and understanding of life in a wider context! The wife had the duty of obeying and loving her husband and tendered herself to conform to these without question. In the family there were certain foods which none of them were allowed to eat such as "totem" foods (i.e. if your totem was a guinea fowl you were forbiden from eating or killing guinea fowls except perhaps under defence). Also in addition to this some foods were considered taboo to the females if they were eaten. These were foods such as chicken, eggs, and certain kinds of fish. But when christianity set in, some of these foods were made accessible to females as well and they took on to eating the originally taboo foods, but not the "totem" foods. Education and modernisation also changed some of the roles. The husband ceased to be the sole master of the home. He who used to be an authority through his autocratic leadership begun to lose these birthrights, and his power begun to become questionable. Nowadays both wife and husband are closer to having an equal say in family affairs than they were 50 years ago. The duties of both husband and wife have also changed drastically. It is no longer a woman's main duty to care for agriculture but both now share almost equal roles in this field.[2] In cases where the men have taken on paid employment they may be the sole providers of everything in the home - from buying food, firewood, water to clothing - as is the case in urban areas, cities, towns and some trading centres. Because of economic reasons, the women who used to stay home as fulltime wives have also started searching for jobs to contribute monetary returns to the family fund; and it

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1) Among Basoga all brothers of a father X (uncles) were traditionally referred to as fathers of X's children: and only brothers of X's wife(s) were called "Uncles" (dhaadha).

2) This is particularty so in case of urban families where partners go for salaried or wage labour. In rural areas one can still find family life little modified from the old traditional style (i.e. with the husband as head of everything).

is becoming increasingly common to have both a working husband and a working wife. This has led to husbands losing some of the critical say in family affairs they used to enjoy; and has boalstered the women's status in society tremendously.

For families in urban areas, children are no longer completely separated from their parents, although they may be partially so during working hours. This is because parents are rather afraid of their kids losing parental love which they fear to have had psychological effects on the lives and development of their children. They are not any more provided with a mechanism which the old traditional systems had, where even though the children were separated for a while - the parental emphasis used to be the daily song through legends and cultural stories. Some of the changes brought about by modernisation are positive and others are negative. Among the positive changes are those concerning taboos where nutritious foods which were barred from females are now free for consumption - especially as some of these foods are even recommended to expectant ladies. Some of the negative changes pertain (according to me) to "women emancipation" and equality between men and women.

Some broken homes (in Busoga), and indeed Uganda, are a result of the demands imposed by women on to their men folk. Family life patterns which have changed remarkably are those in urban areas, where (in addition) we have an assemblage of other cultures alien to Soga culture. The change is not so profound in rate in rural areas, where parents still utilise much of the customary childrearing patterns as time allows them to. This difference is largely attributable to most rural parents believing that children thrive better under care of a relative than in the family of an overworked mother harassed by many children, since birth-control is not quite yet popular among Basoga. But an important thing to note here is that some family ties are rapidly getting loose by the move of people from rural to urban areas, as those in urban areas start concentrating only on conjugal families.

However, much as there has been some fairly significant changes to modernisation, Basoga still display a lot of their traditional ways of life: in spite of the fact that they are too busy modifying or equating their life-styles with europeanised patterns of living. The strucutral differentiations that occurred in the family, as a result of modernisation, belittled one's loyalty to the old integration modes: which were largely based on clan relations' depictions. These gave way (eventually) to a changed socio-economic structure that came with more differentiation more unequally depicted on principles other than clan evaluation virtues.

In Busoga, the primary and principal value-transmitting factors in a young developing Musoga were the mother, father, the grandparents (from both father's and mother's sides - especially the women), the father's sisters and an older (if father is a second born to one) or next younger (if father is first) father's brother. These are the ones from whom a young Musoga learnt most principles of organisation, clan and kinship relations, ethics of social value, and the need and necessity for social acceptability which is paramountly emphasised in Soga culture. Basoga themselves portray the key roles of these people in personality building through a set of accepted disapproval and abuse words and phrases to youths who misbehave such as:

1) INYHOKO - which means 'YOUR MOTHER' but is categorically only used to mean that 'YOU ARE AS STUPID (or DUMB) AS YOUR MOTHER'.

2) X's (male) children are as stupid as their father.

   'BATABANE BA X BASIRU OTI N'ISEIBWE'

3) "BATABANE (or BAWALA) BA X BADANKAANU OTI NI BA SSONGA (or BAISE) BAIBWE"

   This means that X's sons (or daughters) are as deviant as their father's sisters (or brothers).

4) "BATABANE (or BAWALA) BA X BALI OTI TIBAKUZIBIRWAAKU BUDHAADHA BWAIBWE"

   This means that X's sons (or daughters) behave as if they were not brought up (at least) in their grandparent's hands.

The semantic logic underlying such simple expressions is very delicately directed to the responsible mature parties concerned because at that time a particular individual's disapproved action or behaviour is categorically blamed on the upbringing, and must be seriously taken up. If a member of the family or close friend to the family was in the vicinity direct questioning was expected to diagnose the cause and if it was serious it had to be taken up with one of the parents in the clan-lineage blamed. Sometimes if the issue was crucially fundamental then the training party blamed had to be informed for correcting the mistake either through discussion or re-education depending on what was appropriate. It is partly because of this type of traditional education system that Basoga were heavily organised around clan principles.

The mother's teaching responsibility was mainly in the first 5-6 years after birth. She had to impart to the child values and principles of power and authority distribution, obedience and beginnings of recognising clan influentials. After this she was mainly to become some sort of 'custodian' of whatever else was to be built up in the youth's thought-content:

in the name and prestige of the family, which was run on patrilineal principles. In the case of girls her teaching was to continue up to till maturity with regard to female household work: and this began between the ages of 7-11 years. For boys between 7-11 years, they began to spend most of their time with the father learning and even practicing light manual work principally to do with repairs in the homestead.

By about the third year, the father's sisters would have started appearing in the scene through constant visiting of the family and initiating teachings relevant to the father's (patrilineal) genealogy: first by jokingly nicknaming the child the appropriate clan elders in order of ascendency from the father to as far as they could go. This way up to the 7th year the child got to learn where the family the child is in belongs in terms of basic clan terminology. The father's sister's teaching in early ages (this period) was indiscriminate and it was directed to both girls and boys. However, after the 7th year the father's sister's teaching was to become systematised and specialised to the girls' (and not boys') training in ethics and etiquettes of becoming feminine in society. Where boys popped up here and there the father's sister very authoritatively told them off emphasising the importance of being masculine in society. This custodian element to boys on part of the father's syster sanctioned her to assume responsibility of the boy through indirect encouragements to the boy to systematically explore the masculine and feminine relations between men and women in society.The aunt had a right to invite away the boy (between ages of 10-15 years) to her home and spark him off to actively do 'girl-hunting' and protectively even practice sexual relations. For girls however, the father's sister had sole responsibilities (complemented by the mother's help) to carry out teaching the art and etiquettes of sexology all the way up to marriage. In fact she used to accompany the newly married girl to her partners bedroom the first week (later shortened to first night) and was not to leave until the husband has assured her that there were no sexual problems with her brother's daughter and himself. The arts and etiquettes of being feminine and sexology involved complex and long period training and the young girls used to frequent their father's sisters homes especially between the ages of 7-12 as they were expected to get married anytime after the 13th year: the sooner the better. To ensure marriage stability special sexual techniques and anatomical modifications on the girls sex organs anatomy were made to avoid sexual dissatisfactions both on the husband and wife's side. A young girls 'labia minora' of the sex organs were locally treated to become more tender and sensitive in a way that made their blood capillaries permanently dilated: and increased their sensitivity at an inflow of blood. At a single touch (by a man's fingers or penis) during the initial stages of sexual intercourse they

became immediately filled with blood. This greatly increased the woman's sexual excitement. The 'labia minora' were also elongated to project out more than usual and this kept them constantly rubbing on the man's penis during sexual intercourse. Their elongation was carried out simultaneously with conditioning the clitoris to become also immediately filled with blood and stand sensitively erect, since it lies in-between, at the bottom, where labia minora meet. The overall effect of this was that the woman's orgasm-point was speeded up to about half the time-length a man takes to ejaculate. This made both partners reach sexual orgasms even during one copulation: and helped stabilise marriage through avoiding some fundamental problems at the root of which marriage instability lies although strictly not permitted to be openly talked about in society. Marriage failure based on such issues was unacceptable to Basoga and highly rediculed. This was why a lot of delicacy was attached to sexual techniques. Sexual catering in Soga traditional society was so important that it was even incorporated into the inheritence system through having a younger brother of the deceased take on his former brother's wife (or wives) legally as 'oMUSIKA WEMBISI' or an inheriter of the husbands duties, and if the wife died the wife's lineage used to be obliged to find him an immediate kin to his former wife if she had no younger sister.

The father's brother's role, on the other hand, was mostly complementary as it emphasised the actual father's teaching and systematised clan relation patrilineally. It was the father's brother who checked whether or not the boy had had proper education traditionally through actually showing the young man his patrilineal relatives and where his ancestors' graves were (also shared by father's sister and grandparents). The father and his brother concentrated also on socio-economic activity training related to land-law, power and authority.

Also the boy (between 7-15) used to alternate in visiting his father's brother's home and his grand-parents' home: rendering the services and skills he was taught by both - for approval. The grandparents were the ones who explained to the young children what the meaning of the different trainings received were, and in addition the cementing transmitters of principles and values of: clan and totem depictions, property acquisition and bridewealth ethics, more social and ethical values of the society. The econonomic and existential values were mostly trainings left to the father and his brother (for boys), mother and the father's sister (for girls), and both the father and mother of the children (related to sex and labour divisions in the family): but had to be complemented by grandparents from both sides in terms of environmental adaptability to society. Due to the emphasis on patrilineal inheritence in traditional Soga society, it was often so that the boy had to spend more time with his patri-grandparents than those on his mothers' side. The girl could spend time whereever she

wanted and as she pleased though there was a tendency for them to go to the mother's side more often. It was from grandparents that elaborated explanations concerning clan cleavages and fusions, and alliances or hatreds with clans outside the patriclan were expected to come. In the case of the grandparents, the children had to go there, taken by the father to his parents or mother to hers: and actual visiting by the grandparents to the children's family used to be a rare, ritually complicated occasion which had to be informed about at least two or three months before time, and they could not speak freely with the young children inside the parents' home in fear of breach of taboo regulations.

Essentially, apart from the first six years of a child's training, the other years up to the age of maturity (13 for girls and 15 for boys) the educational period of children consisted of alternations of visits and contacts between them, their parents, the father's brother and sister, and the grandparents. In all this training, patri-relational principles were dominantly emphasized, although it was necessary and part and percel of the training to know relatives from the mother's clan (at least the first two generations). After maturity one was expected to found a home. What the British-introduced education (formally starting from 7 years to about 20 years) did was to sever the basic educative period to Basoga as they started sending their children to school only after the 6th year, and could only spend time with them for a total of about three months holiday a year, divided up into three portions. This way the educated generations started being different from old Soga traditional life.

Note

1) The mother's brother and sister: though important to the children (in status) were very marginally significant in Soga traditional education.

2) The father's mother's side was insignificant in Soga traditional life: but had to be accorded special respects in accordence with marriage and clan relations.

3) The father's mother's brother's children and father's sister's children had very important ritualistic responsibilities in the family (as aBAIWA) but otherwise they were complete outsiders to the patri clan.

2:3 THE CLAN

What is commonly accepted by Basoga as the clan is basically a common descent socio-economic identity incorporated into society based on a normatively accepted totem (oMuziro), from which traditional values were depicted, controlled, and perpetuated in Soga life. This is the basis on which kinship among Basoga is valued as a socio-economic asset: treated through parental lineage to a common patrilineal ancestor, of clan-members. Clan recruitment was commonly determined by birth but this was not exclusively so (as we shall see). All offspring fell automatically into the putative father's patriclan. However, the putative father's wife and his daughter's children belonged to different patriclans. Marriage was (and still is) strictly forbidden between members of the same patriclan, and it was also strongly discouraged with those from one's mother's patriclan.

That each clan had oMuziro did not necessarily mean (or imply) kinship unity, though strong sentimental affiliations were accorded to unity. Both the ancestral name and oMuziro served to distinguish clans. However, the name of an ancestor might have lost ground as an identity criterion where different clans have similar names. This was either through coincidence (i.e. all male parents of twins are called Isabirye and females are called Nabirye) or through clan origin[1]). There are also clans specifically with both Isabirye and Nabirye as ancestral strains: probably after the original names of some once-upon-a-time parents of twins were completely forgotten. It might also have happened that someone actually named their child one of these names after some hero who was originally a twins' parent .

To complicate the picture further, where there occurred clan dispersals in Busoga, one often found (and still finds) an introduction of completely new names in the clan even though the basic naming system was maintained according to clan relations depictions. What this led to was that the grand- or grand-grand children of the man with the newly acquired name were named after the new name and not the old original ancestral name. Still the clan retained all former clan name-prescriptions that existed before the new name. A very good example here is the case of abaIse-Igaga found in the north-western part of Busoga, in the old state of Gabula called BUGABULA.

Here, the key senior founder names are Bedhamira, Mwamula, and Kategere. These three names appear to be newly-acquired

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1) Though I only use Isabirye and Nabirye here as examples, there are a few other Soga names falling in the same categories.

names among the abaIse-Igaga. As to which exact old names were replaced I am not very sure, but the clan here has a common name with at least two other despersals in Busoga, one in Kigulu state, and another in Busiki state. The common linkage name (among the three) is KISUBI. When I inquired into what meanings were behind two of the senior clan names in Bugabula being Badhamira and Mwamula, something very informative in the naming system (to be discussed later) of Basoga crept up.

The word KUDHAMA means, in Lusoga dialect used in this part of Bugabula, to joke. A joker is called MUDHAMI, sometimes even called MUDHAMIZI. If one is going to joke it is said that "Agya kudhamira" or "is going to joke". One of the senior clan-founders in Bugabula, where these ábaiseIgaga are located, was a reputable joker. It is said that he in fact cunningly earned most of his WEALTH PATROITISM through "ókudhama". People where he lived and in the vicinity knew him as a great MUDHAMI. Those who used to go to listen to his jokes (EBIDHAMO) used to say that "TUGYA KUDHAMA EWÁ OMUDHAMI". Later this was changed to "TUGYA KWEDHAMIRA EWA OMUDHAMIZI". Finally this was shortened to "Tugya wa BEDHAMIRA" meaning "We are going to the joker's place". This man became nicknamed BEDHAMIRA, and this new name superseded his original clan name. Clansmen, who apparently had no real objections to the new name, incorporated BEDHAMIRA as a new clan name among abaiseIgaga found in the clan-dispersal this man belonged to: thus litigating some of this man's grand and grand-grand children to become BEDHAMIRA.

Mwamula, on the other hand, was also a senior founder in the same area who is said to have confronted Gabula in some manoeuvres for abaiseIgaga's regional demarcation and actual acceptance as a separate clan in Gabula's state. When this mission was successful, abaiseIgaga here said that "He, (X), had shaken Gabula dry". Actually the word "oKWAMULA" means "to shake drips off", often applied to clothes after they have been washed and just before putting them in the sun (these days on hanging-lines) to dry. However, Basoga then mostly applied this to dyed barkcloth (EMIGAIRE EMINHYIKE) just before they were put out to dry in the sun. The actual process of dying bark-cloth, meant for softening and tinting them, was very complex and required professional skills. Besides, not every Musoga could afford to purchase a dyed barkcloth or "OMUGAIRE OMWINHYIKE". Those who did were often socio-economically high ranking people or belonging to the royal dynasties. This man who confronted Gabula and secured complete acceptance of abaiseIgaga in Bugabula had carried out "okwamula Gabula" to the clan's benefits. From then on they called him MWAMULA, and his clan name too became replaced by Mwamula: which was accordingly incorporated into the clan naming system like Bedhamira was. As an appreciation (I was told), Gabula donated to Mwamula one of his daughters, Wanhyana,

for marriage. But some two elderly people I talked to seem to have contradicted this on grounds that this man (Mwamula) did actually capture Wanhyana for a wife, and shielded himself and clansmen in her as a negotiation strategy.

What I was interested in at any rate was the cultural and socio-economic implications in these manoeuvres. While discussing the meaning of EKYAALO and oMUTALA, we shall see how much these regional divisions mean to Basoga. Also the first thing a Musoga would give priority to (in the old traditional society) after settling, would be to establish OLUSUKU (banana garden) in which he will be buried. The Soga classical burial garment for the dead was OMUGAIRE (the barkcloth): and the tree from which it is made (called oMugaire, and not "omutuba" like Fallers [1] says) was a must to be planted in oLusuku directly or in the yard where the homestead was established. From eMigaire trees, eMigaire (barkcloth) were made for both dressing in by the living and burying in the dead. As a matter of fact eMigaire trees are a very good identifying mark for places where there once existed a homestead: in areas that got depopulated due to war, plagues or some other natural catastrophy, and are now jungle stretches. Looked at this way, the vitality of the actual incorporation of abaiseigaga in Bugabula goes beyound sheer legendary folklore. abaiseIgaga, as a clan, were now to have facilities to form an autonomic regional PDC-systems network in Bugabula. Their officiated identification juxtaposted their entity and independence: while at the same time incorporating them into situational environmental adjustments in the state matrix they were to live from then on.

Fallers (1965:64) seems to conclude that Soga names were after a common ancestor's name ("only") and he affirms that by saying that:

"Thus the clan whose common ancestor is Igaga call themselves abaiseIgaga."

If one is unaware (or ignorant) of Lusoga language semantics, it is very easy to simply translate this as "they of the father Igaga". But in reality there is no name of Igaga among abaiseIgaga. This name is, on the contrary, found in a different clan altogether, the abaiseMusuubo. According to the naming principles (as we shall see) this name, Igaga, ought to have been found in abaiseIgaga clan dispersals in Busoga, But it is not. Confusion based on this would most certainly lead to confusing different clan origins and historical backgrounds of different people: which Fallers unfortunately does when he talks about Babito, and Soga

1) See Fallers, 1965:54.

political changes and organisation. At any rate his is neither a case where the name Igaga is found in both clans. What needs to be carefully noted here is that though the clan name may help differentiate operational kinship units, it may also not necessarily define the actual genetic units (ref. to Isabirye and Nabirye). This has support to why the difficulty of respective unified action (via clan dispersals) was overcome by identification based on true partrilineal uteral criteria (i.e. same father and same mother).

The oMuziro (totem) is merely some grass, tree, fish, bird, animal, or other living organism nominated as taboo to eat or kill: and normatively accepted by all clan members. This, however, is not the only and only way of identifying what a clan is, as will be evidenced. What is of seminal importance, to this work and among Basoga themselves, is the socio-economic significance of the clan in Soga life. The local basic units to which Basoga oriented themselves were:

1. the family homestead (aMaka)

2. the clan (eKika).

This is in opposition to what Fallers (1951:1, 1965:51) says, that they oriented themselves to eMitala. Only ruler dynasties significantly oriented themselves to eMitala, in state-management, to ensure political dominance over commoner clans (as will be seen). With regard to socio-economic interests and investments, where any clan had regional areas (including eMitala that belonged to specific clans), it was mainly the clan council which appropriated maintenance and perpetuation through some officiated members who were usually clan elders. Even where rulers disagreed with the litigated clan-council, they elected to power a ring of own choice clan members to replace clan-councils. A Musoga was bound to his patriclan because it was expected to provide him with a place in the world: making the patriclan ideally the most solidary group in the old traditional Soga society, though there were probable behavioural deviations from patriclan prescriptions. As a result of this, the within patriclan conflicts seem to have been the areas in which the social structure most closely articulated with personality factors (ref. 1:1, and 2:1).

The question of clan origin is a little complex but can be partly investigated through examining some clan origins among the Luo, whose influence is deeply rooted in Soga culture. Ocholla (1976) says that though Luo clans still maintain male descent names, some can in fact be descendants of a female, and sometimes even the male name may not appear at all. At this point there is a reflection of actual fluctuations between patrilineal and matrilineal descent, as opposed to being purely either patrilineal or

matrilineal. In normal Luo traditional marriages the wife dominated the household, and a husband with many wives is therefore attached to many households. In such cases it happened that some very strong fretted women could actually break off from a marriage with all their household and move off elsewhere to found a clan of their own. To honour the lady-founder, the new clan was named after her and even her children (and followers) became naturally converted to the new clan: casting aside their father's clan. This was often so if there had been disputes among the different households of a deceased husband. On the other hand, a male name as head of a group of lineage together with other clients could break off to form a completely new clan (Libamba). Further to this is simply that a group of clients called JODAK in Luo may form a new clan elsewhere in some new tribal area. If such a group was small in population they may have been swallowed up in the new tribal area, but if it was big they may have expanded as a new clan. The question of whether they remained as Luo or assumed the host's tribe identity merely as a clan within was a case in point variations. Further still to clan origin is that there were also clans formed as war results, among the Luo. If a strong tribe lost war to some even stronger clan from the Luo and simply became incorporated into the winner's regional domain without land loss: the winner might honour them by naturalising them as Luo through accepting them as a new clan in the Luo tribe. But this was usually through actual cultural acceptance by the captives (as a must), which was preconditioned by learning Luo language and practicing Luo customs and traditions.

If one examines some clan cleavages that occurred in Busoga very carefully, one comes up with cases similar to or modifications of the described Luo clan origins. Thus it becomes very dangerous to make attempts to codify what clans are (as some academicians have done) based only on birth: needless to say the rediculous codifications of what a tribe is, by birth, when what are called tribes in some African places are real aggregations of a number of "birth-tribes".

Although the clan had very strict totem litigated depictions in Busoga, defensive killing was given ritualistic exceptioning. The consumption point of view may or may not have been a reason that led many clans to having a secondary MUZIRO known as AKAIBIRO, as well. It is easy to imagine a case like aBAISE-IGAGA[1] who have the buffalo as their totem. In Soga society buffaloes are priced for their meat (particularly if dried) and hunters used to go in for these to have dried and smoked meat on the market. In these events, it may be that some Baise-Igaga may have

1) aBAISE is a prefix put before a clan's name, meaning "those who belong" to clan X.

actually eaten this meat in hiding. To get rid of their guilty consciousness they had to invent an outlet. So a secondary MUZIRO (AKAIBIRO) was instituted as a protective measure. Their kaibiro is not to utilise, in any way whatever, any MATOOKE from ULUIRA[1] or a fire set on banana gardens. These fires (EMPIIRA) are used in the shifting agricultural cycles or for hunting purposes. Chances are that no fool would start oluira anywhere in the vicinity of their banana plantain gardens. So you have very remote chances of having access to "EITOOKE LYO'MU LUUIRA". It would be very difficult, under these circumstances, to propagate boldly (like D.W. Cohen in his "Reconstruction of the History of Busoga") that the clan name is the primary differentiating feature when it is conceivable to have non-clan members acquiring similar names to those of members: in direct apposition to the "AKAIBIRO" which also dismisses the concept of "MUZIRO" being a primary differentiating feature. All we know is that both features reinforce each other and in absence of one (as is often the case in Soga genealogies we can rely on identification based on the other.

Every Musoga is expected to know some basic information about his heritage and the totem is an element of this. Where a totem has not undergone change it could be one of the oldest identifications of ethnic or kinship groups. Thus the buffalo in the case of Abaise-Igaga in Busoga serves as the connection link among the different clusters in Busoga: plus those in Uganda from different tribes but with the same totem. This is a very useful linkage in analysing population movements and genealogical spread of groups of the same people (i.e. the Bantu-speaking group in Uganda). There are, however, also clear indications that some clans changed their names after undergoing fission to produce autonomous segments having different totems. D.W. Cohen (in the "HISTORICAL TRADITION OF BUSOGA") correctly refers to the case of the abaise MUKUVE-ISANGA. These split into two parts with different totems: the abaise MUKUVE with the EGRET totem, and abaise Isanga with the Guinea Fowl totem. But there is absolutely no reason why we cannot view this as a social or political manoeuvre which necessitated a re-union of the sort to adapt themselves to current situational demands then. There have been found cases where a clan did not agree completely about their totem. At this stage a clan segment changed its totem according to situational demands; but in their search for clan's dispersed elements (usually for genealogical reconstruction) the totem emerges as an apparent conflict. Also it may have been that a clan got absorbed into other kinship group in crisis - i.e. during the pre-imperial and early imperial upheavals many runaway families left Buganda for neighbouring lands. If the guests' totem

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1) OLUIRA (pl. EMPIIRA) is "a fire" deliberately used in the cultivation cucle.

differred from that of the host, the two might have outlasted traditional absorption. Similarly, even the specific genera or even phyllum of an animal or plant a totem name referred to might have developed into a point of conflict through any of the mentioned clan complexes, What really became manifestly operative were the social motives behind. These social motives importantly influenced the people's actual performance under various conditions. Thus in accordance with this, the relationships existing between the motives of individual members of Soga society and the dominant value of Soga society got adjusted. In addition, the actual relationships between individual motives and social motives, on one hand: and the Soga socio-economic growth and cultural levels of Soga society, on the other hand, got manoeuvred to fall in line with situational demands. Basoga do that cunningly even up to now.

Now we come to a juncture where to examine how, in spite of having many autonomic states, Basoga were interwoven through culture and language.

To the extent that the different states were autonomous even though all within the same traditional realm, they were disintegrated. To the extent that Basoga are composed of a very long term semblance of different tribal origins (ref. ODF factor App. 2), they were and still are a multi-society. Jinja, for instance, with all its cosmopolitanic elements, made multi-ethnicity even more intensified.

State foundation in Busoga was mainly for socio-economic dominance: and we now need to investigate further how the very existance of states, their maintenance, and perpetuation were clan-based. These states (as seen earlier) were of an essentially common socio-economic pattern and organisational structure.

The actual organisation and division of labour in productions, distrubition, and consumption activities (among Bascga) was an issue left to individual family authorities in homesteads: and it was very closely related to land utility. This indeed is where the relationship between my levels of analysis and the organisational categories I make (2:4) becomes critical, in Soga local life conduct. Although most of what goes in the PDC-systems' organisation, with regards to the real or existential economic activity, was largely covered in discussing the family and was also partially dealt with in discussing Soga economy; a completion of it is only comprehensible after discussing customary land law. Through customary land law family socio-economic subsistance mainly developed via cultivation. The main cultural and socio-economic values were geared to land utility, and all obligations and duties were structured to comply with this.

Hamsworth (1962) brought up clearly the fact that Busoga then had no one "land tenure" system but a series of accomodations to local circumstances. The indicated differences derived from historical and economic variations in relation to the occupants' origins. Her work about "land tenure" systems points towards the rapid change in land law to cope with socio-economic changes. What she found out reveals the very original characteristic of Basoga as being a semblance of different tribal elements on common geographical grounds. Since each of these people had an own historical sequence, with diversified land utility patterns, it is difficult to state what was the original Soga land "tenure system". But this does not hinder us from projecting how rapidly land distribution has changed in relation to PDC-systems's changes, where there existed clan law depictions. It is these clan law depictions which have literally been converted to what is called customary land law.

At the time of my work land acquisition by an outsider only needed a Kisoko chief's role as a formality, to demarcate boundaries. The basic transactions could as well be completed between the prospective acquirer and seller, validfied by legal documents. The change direction has strongly been towards a system of individual ownership and free sale, lease or rent of land: and bequeathing of property by written wills. What I found simplified by 1972 was that it increasingly becomes easier to discern the possible relationships of land acquisition to land use. He who has land now has full rights (even outside clan depictions) to do whatever he wishes with it without seeking anyone's approval as it often was the case in the old traditional society. The land monetary values, though, steadily increase the nearer one moves to urban areas. The opposite holds true the further one moves away from urban to rural areas. Individual ownership, however, is now classified according to the manner in which it is obtained: falling into six categories:

a. purchase

b. gift

c. inheritance

d. loan

e. rent

f. lease

Ownership is also accordingly protected by customary law, state law, and the old traditional land distribution systems.

What is meant (here) by customary law is as spelled out in Laws of Uganda (1964, Vol. VI, Ch. 192-248, pp. 3345-4160) that:

"... customary tenure means a system of land tenure regulated by laws or customs which are limited in their operation to a particular description or class of persons."

In my interpretation, "description" could not have meant anything other than deliberate avoidance of use of "tribe", or a manoeuvre to facilitate vertical socio-economic exchange as land had long become a purchasable economic good. Use of class of persons is even more a flabbergasting intent of asymetrical exploitation of resources: directly copied from imperial laws which were partially designed to permit some control on usufructory land rights, by imperial agents. However, though not yet officially entered into national law books (even up to ten years after "independence"), what is referred to as "customary law" is the different institutionalised traditional tribal ways and methods of governing land utility: with respect to specific tribal regions.

What is referred to as "state law" is even more difficult to spell out as this is still within the contexts that were laid down by the British Imperial Government to safeguard its interests in Uganda. The corollaries that may have been added in the post-independence first ten year period seem not to invalidate the original laws in any ways yet. They represent mere addendums structured to favour "power inheritors" from European rule, who although Africans themselves categorically graft even more deleterious socio-economic value conflicts to old traditional tribal structures.

The old "state law" on land has more to do with "crown land" under the auspy of "Uganda Protectorate". Here "crown land" is spelt out as in Laws of Uganda (1964, Vol. XVIII, Ch. 205) like:

"... all lands in Uganda (not being lands of which any person other than Her Majesty or the Govenor is registered under the provision of the registration of Titles Act as the

proprietor of an estate of freehold or of which any person is so registered as the proprietor of an estate in respect of which a final mailo certificate has been given) which immediately prior to the commencement of this act is:

a. subject to the control or in the possession of Her Majesty having been acquired for the public service or otherwise howsoever,

b. subject to the control or in the possession of Her Majesty by virtue of any treaty, convention or agreement, or of Her Majesty's Protectorate."

Evidently, there was no incorporating "state law", even in imperial times, that applied to all tribal regions in Uganda. This was left to local tribal (or district) customary law for problem solving in respective areas. Therefore, irrespective of whatever else might be said (especially through nationalist aspirations) it still is traditional "tenure" systems that operate with regards to land law in different regions. Thus the discussion of Soga Land Law should be understood in Soga contexts mostly, as opposed to the wider national contexts though the socio-economic change effects might be extended to the national contexts (within specified limits.[1])

Land individualisation in Busoga has led to "tenants" wielding irrebukable litigations to land ownership as a property, provided it is acquired according to institutional laws. The problematic interpersonal relations sprouting out of this are based on who owns land and property in Busoga. But from where else came socio-economic development limitations or extensions to Basoga?

To answer the last question, I would like to:

a: Devitalize the unsatisfactory use of the term "Land Tenure" in talking about Basoga. There was no such a thing among Basoga, although there was clearly laid down clan law pertaining to land utility. "Land Tenure" is an imperial value-loaded phraseology tactically introduced in the empire worlds to authorise control over land-based economic products. Instead I will use LAND LAW to differentiate the old traditional land control system from the European-influenced control system which is usually called "land tenure".

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1) As a matter of fact it should be emphasized here that there exist different land law systems in Uganda; ranging from pure fragmentation to one sole individual ownership. This categorically means that land fragmentation is not simply a result of demographic and commercialisation pressures. Some traditional land law is based on fragmentation.

b. Differentiate between:

1. usufructory land ownership - which pertains to the actual operative land possession by individuals in PDC-systems.

Here I include all cultivatable land, both being currently used and left periodically to refertilise in the agricultural cycles.

2. regional titular land ownership - which pertains to state management and socio-economic dominance through being held by virtue of a title but not actual possession.

Here regional expansion was more governed by political dominance, as explained in state-formation. Although some rulers, often exploited this to acquire more usufructory land, regional titular land ownerhsip should be understood as a means to win more authority over a large number of the population where each homestead had an own usufructory land interest. A chief ruling a region had regional land ownership politically, for administrative purposes, but this did not mean that he had actual authority and controls over the usufructory land ownership titled to individual homesteads. Where some chiefs tried to do this it often led to their downfalls.

Usufructory land ownership was the focal pivot in PDC-system organisation. On this was based the activities of individual family PDC-systems. Every man (and his family) was supposed to have a privatised piece of land for survival which fell under clan laws. This land was also a burial fort which no one else, even chiefs, had a right to once it was litigated in the owner's name. But offensive misbehaviour directed to the chief and public in the area could lead to that chief dismissing the offender from his region. This was often with the clan and village council's approval. Since usufructory land ownership was the springboard of Soga survival, it made land law become a possible obstacle to socio-economic development, with its effective part being manifested in the agricultural structure. Agriculture was always mostly based on small individual productivity land holdings. Every Musoga, chief or peasant, could at any time increase or decrease his actual economic productivity depending on his incentives. But, nowadays the rich increasingly engulf many small unit agricultural producers. This has effectively pushed some local community Basoga into becoming landless. Some took on squatting on the rich's land pieces as wage labourers while others desperately sold their services to wage labour in urban areas where there are increasingly high potentials of being unemployed. Real agricultural productivity increase is even more questionable as agricultural technology is barely on modern production margins that cope

with other demands that come with socio-economic change. In spite of all this small holding cultivation still predominates.

Land Law in Busoga was (and still is) valued in accordance with prevailing socio-economic conditions, and relations that effect the entire real economic productivity. This is why land easily became a commodity suitable for different socio-economic purposes among Basoga. The economic reality which invaded the old Soga traditional society, with regard to their security and stability, is related to the types of land ownership which developed out of socio-economic change in Uganda as a national structure. In the old Soga traditional social order there were seven land law clan depictions (or structural criteria) through which land ownership in PDC-systems' organisation was managed or regulated. These were socially categorised titles whose operative values and acquisitions, by male members of the Soga society, litigated very strong bondages to the land on which they lived, through their patriclans. These seven different titles had status-loaded values in Soga society which equated their operative mechanisms to a patrilineal descent pattern. The structural relationship that each of these categorised status holders had with each other, socio-economically, was mainly the process through which eKisoko chief executed his duties. The following table shows the title, category, and structural relationships of the different status holders:

Table 2. Soga basic Land Law maintenance pattern

TITLE	CATEGORY	STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIP
oMusenze	A prospective settler who had to formally negotiate with an owner for usufruct land acquisition.	Apart from his direct confrontation with a usufruct land owner (these days seller), all formal negotiations with other authorities in the locality he intended to settle were executed via the owner. oMusenze was still regarded as an alien and therefore was kept at social distance.

Table 2. continuation

Mweene itaka	This was the actual owner of the land which oMusenze is interested in.	Although an actual owner of usufructory land, he could not let some of his land go to anyone else except to a conjugal family male member subjected to clan inheritance depictions. If an outsider was to be introduced then formal approvals from his family (as a whole), the clan council, village neighbours, and the basic lower level power hierarchy had to be sought.
oMutaka	An actual owner (Mweene itaka) of land to which a line of males (through heredity) has solid claim (oButaka) based on long residence.	If he introduced oMusenze to the locality (eKyaalo) then he was merely treated as "Mweene itaka" and had to abide in these limits by clan depictions. If he was not the one to dispense his land he was then often consulted by "Mweene itaka", village members (esp. the immediate neighbours) for advice as to what personality qualities the prospective settler was expected to have. Even higher authorities did consult him on these issues before accepting the new settler, to ensure that no undesirable elements were introduced in their political domains.
oMuliraano	An immediate neighbour in homestead locations.	All closely neighbouring homesteads in the immediate village vicinity had social rights to knowing who oMusenze was, because he was to share with them the same eKyaalo provided he became accepted. People in eMiliraano were salient sanctifiers in oMusenze's "quality assessment" before final social approval by everyone in eKyaalo. Rejection by these had no other alternative but to give up. Delicately observed acquaintance with these was therefore of utmost importance.

Table 2. continuation

oWekisoko	This was the eKisoko chief whose primary duties were to fill up the villages in his eKisoko with settlers of socially accepted and desirable qualities.	Carried out his duties in public interests via clan depictions (see description in Social Order): but he was also responsible to higher chiefs (oMutala + elsaza) where they existed. He both officiated approval or disapproval of the prospective settler, and ritually demarcated usufructory land boundaries.
oMusigire	An entrusted appointee to act on behalf of any of the other status holders. Preferably not on behalf of oMusenze as the system preferred his personal presence.	Executed specified duties of whoever he represented as laid down by clan depictions, and with full public recognition.
oMukungu	An appointee from topmost chief to safeguard law and order in the chief's area, as an overseer of political domain interests in his chief's region.	His representation was very restricted to clan law patterns, with his advisory services stringently channelled via the village council, which was as a rule mostly composed of aBataka plus other village representations (ref. Social Order). This meant that finally the village council had to affirm oMusenze's acceptance, formally.

In land law, Soga clan depictions favoured patriclan members in the first degree and then clan allies of different sorts with inlaws being preferable. The scrutiny a prospective settler had to go through was first from being oMusenze to becoming "Mweene itaka". As oMusenze he might have possibly been granted temporary permit to reside on the owner's piece of land under the owner's supervision: but he had no rights yet to practically acquire usufruct land ownership. This he attained only after undergoing an assessing period (2 months to 2 years), during which the people where he intended to settle checked his background

and inquired systematically into what led him to seek settlement in their eKyaalo. eMiliraano members were the ones most pragmatic about this assessment period since they did not want just anybody (rascal or puritan) in their vicinity without concrete criteria to support their choice. During the assessing period oMusenze could be thrown out anytime if he was found undesirable. After this basic qualification test, the new settler became ritualistically accepted as an actual owner of usufructory land (Mweene itaka). He then remained with hard work to acquire full social recognition and oButaka in eKyaalo. Each of these stages had ritualistic celebrations attached to it and the first manifestation of full social recognition was usually a beer (aMalwa) invitation to some senior male member of neighbouring homesteads and some senior aBataka in eKyaalo.

The reaps of the money economy and the so-called modernisation era have now led to mere transactional negotiations between the owner and oMusenze (who at once becomes "Mweene itaka" after cash payments): with eKisoko chief formally demarcating land boundaries. All social welfare security values that were embedded in the old land law system of usufructory land acquisition (in Busoga) have dwindled into past knowledge, not so much a curiosity in itself to the younger generations. This has in turn led to a number of Basoga finding themselves living next to strangers very alien to what old Soga cultural expectations society had, even though they may in fact be Basoga too. This is a loophole through which the rich have gained wealth over the vast majority by acquiring more land both through force and impaired socio-economic transactions that steadily shape them into landlords. These landlords have gained some socio-economic advancements either through meagre agricultural practices or through constructing residential plots (especially in urban areas) from which they derive taxfree exceptionally high rents even though the housing conditions may in fact be subnormal. This has made these landlords' children being mostly the ones with ample access to discriminating educational facilities at high levels since education is not free yet (in Uganda) except at university and some technical schools and institutes. Thus, land as a means of production has gained even more socio-economic power as an economic enterprise both as a source of income and sustenance. As a prestige vehicle, he who owns land has therefore more real economic authority even over his actual political authorities in the socio-economic structure. Social difference escalation is mostly based on the rich being the political authority magnets! Many a local government court case records (especially between 1948-1958) reveal different status holders usurping their positions to acquire more usufructory land. However, it is very important to note that land was valued for settlement, agriculture (or subsistance cultivation), ancestral housing, political and socio-economic dominance:

in the old Soga traditional social order structure. In the "modernised" Soga structure, with the exception of ancestral housing which is becoming more and more a fuzzy issue, land is valued more less for the same objectives with more emphasis on real economic income. The actual economic politics[1] of land ownership has bases from the old traditional land law system.

Since I have touched the meaning of being a land owner, I should at once outline the different categoric status holders who featured as key figures in:

a. state management organisation.

b. PDC-systems' organisation.

c. Socio-economic dominance organisation.

The following table shows some key title holders in the WPS in Soga social order:

Table 3. Some WPS key title holders in Soga social order

State management	PDC-systems	Socio-economic dominance
oMufuzi	oMusenze	oMukago
oMusigire	Mweene itaka	oMuwooza
oMukungu	oMuliraano	oMukiisi
oMutaka	oMutaka	oMusigire
oMukiisi	oMusigire	oMutaka
	oMukungu	oMukungu
	oWekisoko	

In state management organisation we have two new title holders whom we have not touched before. oMufuzi simply means a ruler and it includes all chiefs from eKisoko, oMutala, and eIsaza levels in the old Soga power structure.

In the new structure that title includes all from oMuluka chief up to the Uganda president. oMukiisi means a councillor, who from the very beginning was elected by the

1) Here I stress economic politics because in Busoga any political manoeuvres based on land ownership are mainly evaluated in terms of pure economic returns though claimancy is cemented by oButaka; consumable value in terms of food, shelter, and social rationality" according to clan depictions.

public: but later some rulers started their own aBakiisi (plural of oMukiisi). In socio-economic dominance organisation we also have two more new title holders. oMukago means "intimate friendship", often strictly confined to socio-economic relationships because of shared common interests. As a matter of fact to have been appointed by anyone as oMusigire, such friendship or an imitation of it was an obligatory basic precondition generally. oMuwooza means a "tax-collector" and this was a new introduction in Soga socio-economic structure on behalf of deposed "old structure" rulers who wanted to equate their economic interests with the imperial government taxation bases. oMuwooza could have been any commoner appointed by a chief but often the chiefs did themselves such duties directly. In the imperial government power structure oMuwooza was a local porter employed to collect taxation from local market traders, public toilets, water services, and a few other public services hard to assess on permanent basis for state taxation.

It should be very carefully noted that we have oMutaka, oMukungu, oMusigire, in all three categories of basic organisation in Soga socio-economic activities. We have oMukiisi in the two most politically dependent WPS activities. All these status holders were chosen according to seniority and socio-economic influence in regions where they lived. The same person could feature in all councils that went with each ruler (or chief) from the lowest to the highest level, or in one or two of them. oMusigire in particular had other responsibilities to his master (not discussed in this work) most important of which was to actively act as a spy in the interests of one he represents. This way they acted as secret policemen to their master's socio-economic securities. The duties of oMukiisi mainly started at (or from) the eKisoko chief's council and they were almost always restricted to active council meetings at different levels of chiefs in power. Although one could possibly be oMukiisi at all councils from the lowest to the highest political level; there were also possibilities of only being on one council. Appointments of oMukiisi were also based on seniority and socio-economic influence in region of location. A very important factor to note here is that although oMukiisi could actually have been anyone from the public, real appointees were often either aBataka or aBakungu. This made aBataka and aBakungu to become important political pivots from the lowest to the highest levels in the old Soga traditional social order. Through aBataka and aBakungu land ownership presumed features of an actual political weapon. aBasigire on the other hand also often usurped their power potentials to acquire more usufructory land as a means to socio-economic advancement: via ensuring that those they acted on whose behalf never returned. If aBasigire succeeded in this, they often had to quieten the actual male heirs of the real land owners. If not they applied quietus sanctions to heirs to quell any qualms that might have lingered in the local vicinity.

In organising the actual and ideal preference alternatives in the WPS, most of the title holders and the chiefs they served with or under in the old Soga social order were obliged to operate within clan law and clan relations depictions. This was even more tightened up by the fact that permanent security guarantee was basically ensured and viewed through appointing clan members to different status positions in the socio-economic structure, both at lower and higher levels of interaction. Thus this security offered tightly closed clan integration normative values and commonly shared obligations to the entire clan population which were interpreted in terms of solidarity. Thus it therefore is wrong to say like Fallers did (1952) in "Village Chiefs in Busoga", and his later treatment of land as a focus for social organisation based on this (1956, 1965) in "Bantu Bureaucracy" that:

> "In the customary land law of Basoga, there is no one who holds rights in any way equivalent to 'ownership' in the modern western sense. Rather, the total body of rights pertaining to a piece of land is distributed among four parties: the chief, the chief's clan, the peasant, and the peasant's clan." (1952, conference paper USSC).

Irrespective of either the chief's clan or the peasant's clan (if indeed one can differentiate between a peasant and a peasant chief): the fact is that there was total ownership (perhaps not comparable to European ownership without specifying which type), and the customary law that governed land operated not in the same way as Fallers generalised it. Even the many court land cases he was exposed to in archieves could hardly be properly understood without going into customary land law deep enough. Most of the judges (as a matter of fact, and as it should by now be apparent) who resided in local administrative courts were for the most part outsiders in local communities, who supposedly had already been inflicted by christianity and education. Neither could they be said to have been totally committed to non-clan land where some often served, nor could they earnestly follow old clan law depictions. These factors alone present problems in fact-finding which needed to be overcome right from the eKyaalo level before jumping to oMutala which he wrongly understood to be the village (eKyaalo) of Basoga.

What is highly remarkable though is how rapidly the land value has changed to a medium for cashable socio-economic development. In the old Soga traditional land law there was no land sale as such, no land leasing, no renting, no purchase in the modern economic sense, and no loans as such. Inheritance and gift land acquisitions were practically the only means to have access to usufructory land. Only after some deposed traditional rulers from the old traditional social order realised the socio-economic significance of their power loss did they attempt to create taxation on

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land revenues in their old political domains. Land owners were forced to pay for "the protection given by the chiefs in their domains" from outsider forces (so claimed the old traditional chiefs). This was done either in material kind or in service, or even both. Such regional rulers had either conquered political domains from a past war, or inherited them, or even simply settled on some vacant regional expanses. At the peak of the numerous states era, regional domain was politically in the hands of ruling dynasties and their relatives. In the imperial era, active monetary or pure economic exchange valuations became more emphasized in the land law system. Between 1950 and 1960 (now more so in interior rural areas) economic interpretations of land as a property were still closed to inherited ownerships. A new settler had to apply to eKisoko chief (even after negotiations completion with the actual owner) who, if there was land, granted it formally in exchange for a fee (a chicken, or a goat known as Ensibuzi). Once this fee had been paid the prospective settler theoretically acquired unlimited rights in usufructory land. As long as a male heir remained, the land remained in oMusenze's patriclan. The tributary dues which were an income part of the higher level traditional chiefs had already been commuted to a local administration tax so that all the oMusenze paid was the initial fee to eKisoko chief. If the oMusenze died or migrated elsewhere without leaving an heir, eKisoko chief had reversionary rights permitting him to reclaim the land and let it to a new oMusenze for a new fee. There was no freehold land system in Busoga because there were no grants of "MAILO[1]) land created by the imperial administration as in Buganda. But Basoga increasingly became able to sell or pledge their land rights for capital or even buy up additional land for "rationalised" agriculture.

What complicated the structure was that some aBakungu posts became converted into hereditary clan-depiction imitations, while others remained merely on appointment basis by some senior øMukungu at a higher level, with the royal clan ruler affirming the succession of a post holder. The various administrators subordinate to the ruler apparently formed a judicial hierarchy, administered their local areas, gathered tributes for the ruler, and called men to war.

By the beginning of the so-called independence era (1962) the old Soga states had long been synthesized into eight aMasaza:

Bugabula, Luuka, Bulamogi } remain very much as they had been in size.

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1) "Mailo land" is land that became incorporated in 'British-created' heritable landed property divorced from political office. This was introduced in Buganda and partially in Toro during imperial rule.

Bugweeri - which lost some of its region as it became reduced in size.

Bukooli, Busiki, Kigulu } composed of the original regions, plus new regional incorporations of smaller states

Butembe-Bunhya - composed of not less than about thirteen original states. The most notable ones of the "clumped up together" states were Butembe (around Lake Nalubaale in Jinja area), Bunhya (in central present day Betembe-Bunhya), and Bunhyuli (incorporating the south eastern portion).

(I gather that there have been a new re-structuring of Soga states, under the military rule since 1975.)

Though Basoga have experienced a number of administrative structural changes, from the top, basic land ownership changes with regards to productivity potentials in agriculture came from the bottom (i.e. village level), mainly as a result of socio-economic changes via pure economic returns.

In the Uganda imperial administration, it was Grant who started structuring Busoga into one major unit (tribe) as opposed to the many dominions that had existed earlier on. He created one administrative authority over them. Where a Musoga ruler refused to accept Grant's authority, Grant replaced him by his own men under British rule (aided by Swahili and Sudanese troops). Political organisation was reshaped.

By 1895 there was a so-called Uganda-Usoga Agreement made which removed all Ganda interferences in Busoga and recognised Usoga as a separate country; as opposed to other parts under British influence that were known collectively as Uganda. But just after this agreement, news reached Uganda that the British foreign office in London had decided to incorporate Usoga into the British protectorate of Uganda. Thus a separate Usoga in East Africa was never to be anymore, but as a reduced district (with some part of it lost to Bugweere, Samia and Bukedi) it was incorporated in Uganda as Busoga. The different kingdoms and chieftainships were converted into ten major administrative power divisions (aMasaza) of which eight lived through the imperial era. Some original traditional rulers were incorporated into imperial administrative hierarchies. Under these were created subdivisions running down to eMiluka for administrative convenience. Those states which were very small got boiled down to mere aMagombolola or less; while those that were fairly big and extensive enough ended up into recognised aMasaza. In some areas aMagombolola were

created for sililar purposes. All these new administration quarters became manned by salaried imperial servants who could now even be transferred elsewhere in the district.

Between 1900 and 1906, Kakungulu (a Muganda imperial agent) reduced the aMasaza to eight, and opened up venues for capable commoners to work their way up in the administrative hierarchies. The end result was to have chiefs in Busoga as civil servants working on British orders in a traditional environment. Also the British supported the opening up of a missionary school in Busoga to basically train sons of chiefs, contemplated to become servants in the new administrative structure. This was built at Kamuli (and known as "eIsomero lya aBalangira" to most Basoga, or "School for the Royals" if literally translated). But in 1912 the stringent regulations governing this school were resolved and it became a boarding school for everyone including capable commoners. This became a turning point after which Soga socio-economic and life-style patterns values were to become very much influenced by European values and western civilisation. An even wide-scoped boarding school meant for all capable Ugandans was soon established in Busoga, at Mwiri by protestant missionaries and it became one of the major educational institutions in the whole Uganda.

Although the imperial government, in Busoga's policy making, may be said to have aimed at substituting bureaucratic political institutions for the former patrimonial ones, at the lowest levels the eMitala, eBisoko, and aBataka administrators were left outside the new formal administration hierarchy. Instead there were active attempts to eliminate their ties with the higher chiefs. But after independence they have been gradually and incompletely incorporated back into the hierarchy! Very recently they have been used effectively and paid for political organisation work. This has made them a little more than mere local community clan headmen, even though their complete incorporation into the administrative hierarchy is not quite yet fully affirmed. The end result of these changes has been a mixture of both the administrative hierarchy at higher levels being staffed with appointed and paid government officials: while at the lowest local community levels there are headmen whose relations with "peasants" are still closer to the former patrimonial patterns, with eMitala and eBisoko chiefs being basically concerned with their former duties in the old traditional social order. The lowest traditional chiefs have often been used and paid seasonally by politicians to win votes.

The political significance of land as a means for socio-economic mobility in the old and new Soga social orders is multifold, as we have seen. Land has the flexible characteristic of appearing in operational political dominance, in actual organisation of the real or existential economic

activity, and in the organisation of the actual and ideal preference alternatives in the WPS. Because of this, usufructory land ownership can very easily be confused with, and also substituted for other critical factors in Soga social organisation; a feature standing out substantively in Fallers' works (1952, 1956 and 1965). In my work I treat land as a socio-economic asset critical to the stability or instability of the Soga social order.

3:1 THE NAMING SYSTEM

The naming system was a clearly laid-out system of genealogical maintenance and perpetuation: which were carried out on clan depictions[1]. The naming system of people and places, as well as the choosing of clan and tribal deponents, were not prescribed at random. In Busoga, usually, the clansmen names were typically those of the clan's forefathers, their mothers, their brothers and sisters: chronologically followed in patrilineage. The inclusion of mothers in the patriclan naming system was to accord them a place in their new patri-society, since they automatically were supposed to become absorbed in their husbands' patriclan. This was more to honour them for clan-perpetuation through their uteral contributions, which were normatively expected of them.

The clan name might possibly have changed when a prominent clansman displaced an older aponym. With this there might not have been change in actual clan composition: but if it was clan cleavage there might have been some changes. The older dispersal segments may not recognise the newly named group as a kinship anyway. But the totem and genealogical names, except the name of the displaced character, often remained the same. A very possible case in point, where names changed, is that of abaise-Igaga (ref. name change in the CLAN-FORCE DISPERSAL TABLE).

There are at least three (or four) main clusters dispersed in Bugabula (the Naluwoli-Butegere cluster), in Kigulu there are two known dispersals (the Busambira and Butende clusters) and in Busiki there is the "Bubenge" cluster. In addision to these dispersals, there are others elsewhere in Busoga: but I have chosen to refer to these merely because they are more easily traceable. The main name-forces in the Bugabula, Busambira, and Busiki dispersals are as shown in the following table:

CLAN-FORCE DISPERSAL TABLE

County	Names of force
1. Kigulu	Kisubi, Mwaavu, (Itaaga), Lukakamwa, Kisambira+)
2. Bugabula	Mwamula, Lubandi, Kisubi, Bedhamira, Kategere
3. Busiki	Kibenge, Isiko, (Itaaga), Kisubi

+) Kisambira is also used as a common name to all male clan-members: which is recognised polite acceptance of clan-mates, even if one might not quite know their specific ancestoral names. Silimarly all female clan-members can be called Naigaga.

1) Refer to (0:2), there also place naming was honouraria.

But Kisubi is common to all (i.e. found in 1-3). Itaaga is common to '1' and '3'. Since all of them have the same clan and totem; this merely would confer to clan dispersal according to envorinmental exploitation and state founding. But from the confict/cooperation aspect of clan relationships one could possibly think of the etablishment of '3' from '1' or '1' from '3' as being the most recent ot the three since they are the only ones with 'ITAAGA' in common. The existence of 'KISUBI' in 1-3 would typify the same original founder. But in fact more realistic practical explanations would have to consider clan fissions, dispersion, and conflict and offspring-naming after one is well versed in Soga cultural traditions. Yet any of these explanation ranges can be validated. All clan clusters have diversified explanations in connection with their dispersal. However, they all agree as 'clan-mates' irrespective of which county they are in. But again in connection with the traditional Soga naming of places there is close linkage between '1' and '2'. At the periphery of the old 'BUSAMBIRA KINGDOM' is a place actually (or area) called BULUBANDI. In Soga tradition this would have to be 'BULUBANDI EWA LUBANDI' - meaning '"bu"-LUBANDI ewa LUBANDI' in Lusoga. This means the MUTALA was named after the founder or actual owner of land encompassed in Bulubandi area, who must have been Lubandi. If there is Lubandi in '2' and Bulubandi in '1' there are higher chances of the founder in '2' having probably quitted '1' but his landlordship remnants in '1' still being respected through Bulubandi. If he again succeeded in having another Bulubandi in '2' then there ought to have been two Bulubandis. As a matter of fact there are some places in Busoga with exactly the same names even though in totally different regional locations. This in itself should not be so much of a surpirse, as will be substantiated through religious practices, while discussing all that went with eNkuni. The exact forces that led to this particular clan's dispersals are many and vary depending on whon one discusses these issues with, but careful use of genealogical tree-tracing in the different clusters helps a lot in explaining existing differences among abaiseIgaga.

In name-giving, if one got a particular clan name he/she was expected to be the footstep follower of the one being named after. If any mistakes were done (with regard naming) they had to be corrected at once sacrosanctly. Suppose, in our clan-dispersal table, Lubandi is the putative son of Mwamula, and Mwamula was the putative son of Bedhamira. Suppose Bedhamira was married to two wives, Wanhyana and Egonda: but his son Mwamula happens to have had about ten wives. Of the ten wives we remember seven: Naikazi, Kabboga, Mwendeze, Tibabala, Tasiima, Nakàibaale (Babirye) and Kifuko. If Mwamula had, as brothers, Musenze, Kategere, Namunsenda, and Ndeegwe. Now, if in the course of marriage Lubandi produces children he will have to name them in a particular prescribed traditional patri chronology: covering certain basic underlying principles. He, and his male children from his wife's (or wives') patri-clans. But his patrigrandchildren (male children of his own sons) will be obliged to include his wife or wives name(s) in their female offsprings. The actual naming of Lubandi's children will follow a seniority order like:

BOYS	GIRLS
Bedhamira	Egonda
Mwamula	Wanhyana
Kategere	Naikazi
Namunsenda	Kabooga
Lubandi	Mwendeze
Ndeegwe	Tibabala
Musenze	Tasiima
	Nakaibaale (Babirye)
	Kifuko

This ordering will only be truely correct if Lubandi was a putative grandson of Bedhamira. But if Lubandi's father Mwamula was actually a putative son of another Mwamula (and not Bedhamira): the specific corrections had to be carried out ritualistically by either a clan head, any senior or clansman if in absence of a clan head, or by the most senior aunt of the child whose name is in question. Such mistakes are (as we shall see) justly conceivable either as results of some natural catastrophies, like plagues, or through wars and sheer ignorance in clan matters.

Basoga believed strongly that if this was not corrected some taboo would befall the family and children would die before adulthood: resulting in the clan's way to extinction, particularly if it concerned male children.

I (myself) am a case in point. My father, Lubandi, whose true putative grandfather must have been Mwamula; the father of my grandfather Mwamula: mistakeably named me as Bedhamira shortly after my birth. According to traditional beliefs I should have got sick and finally died before puberty. In fact I fell sick very much dangerously after my naming in spite of my parents having had first class access to medical and healthcare (according to Soga standards). Some senior aunt of mine from the patriclan and the grandmother from the matriclan suspiciously wondered whether or not it was not necessary to check this as tradition depicts. Finally the aunt put pressure on this and through clan mediations forced my parents to accept the challenge even if they had been very reluctant. A much more simplified ritual was carried out. Two cocks (because it was a son) were differently marked, and one person was instructed to go up the roof of the main house with them covered in a basket. When he was on top, at the highest point of the roof, some appropriate person (my aunt) deponently recited the following words aloud:

"Bedhamira and Mwamula hear us, if it is one of you who has unduly been displaced out of his 'ENDA' then let him regain his masterly by joining us on the ground first."

At the end of this recital an order was given to release the cocks to jump down. It was told that as soon as the first cock to jump landed on the ground, which was Mwamula, I started laughing in the middle of the scene though I had previously been crying during the performances! So from then on I became Mwamula. This I was informed about by a now passed away aunt by the name Babirye, with a supposedly christian name of Natalja.

Now let us examine this more carefully. Both my parents had gone to missionary schools where traditional customs were being systematically defiled as being heathen. My mother's father was a catechist religious teacher, and I understand she was rather more bitter about the ritual, as she thought it was a pagan custom. But as a woman she had to consent to patriclan demands as traditionally depucted by clan litigations. My father's mistake in naming me most likely was a result of a natural catastrophe that befell his father's homestead when he was still a very small child. While he was very young, he had been left by his mother at her brother's home, at a distant place, when a plague of chickenpox wiped out almost all his patrifamily and most of his clansmen in the Naluwoli-Butegere area. He became an orphan: but his maternal uncle raised him, sent him to school, and gave him moral support until he went to university. His entire upbringing was elsewhere in another clan (abaiseMweebya), and he started active re-contact with his surviving clansmen after he was grown up. This was even more so after some of his clansmen had realised that he was probably a very rewarding clan-asset as he successfully worked his way up the local government and protectorate government bureaucracies. The most senior clansmen he got exposed to in clan matters, and who became closest to him, were of the Musenze and Bedhamira genera. He seems to have probably been talked into believing that be belonged to the Bedhamira genealogy. When I inquired into some reasons why we (his children) never got to know so much about our relatives in the Naluwoli-Butegere clusters, from other clansmen, then I discovered that those there were mainly not of the same genealogical tree as him and that there was rather too much indifference among them towards him that he was wiser to keep us apart. This he had never told us himself and if it was so then his was a genuine naming mistake: which was luckily corrected by some genuinely impartial sister[1] of his. But as it is there is still a lot to this that need further systematic scrutiny: to understand better why he manifested submission to clan pressure.

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1) Sister here, much like the case of fathers we saw earlier, can and is often used among Basoga to refer to female children of X's different fathers. Likewise X can have brothers who originate from his different fathers.

The main theme here in this illustration has been to portray the prescriptions that had to be followed in naming. A man had to begin with his putative grandparents. After naming at least one of these in either sex he then had to name after his father's grandparents in the same order. He then had to name after the brothers of his grandfather; and his grandfather's sisters. First priority must be given to uteral relatives before the other putative relatives. All these will have to belong to the first consanguine order whatever generation they are cited from. The "use of names from his mother's lineage" is contrary to the patrilineal descence patterns although it has a joking relation outlet in Soga society.

This means that patrilineality and matrilineality actually operate along continuums of hierarchical valuation scales, at opposite ends; but certainly with elements of the characteristics of either at the opposite pole.[1] Existing differences between societies in this respect are only in the operational degrees of intensity towards or away from either pure matrilineality or pure patrilineality. It is mere coincidence that most known social anthropological works have been in the areas where degrees of either are more intensified. Thus Basoga clearly display elements of descence utilisation based on both matrilineality and patrilineality as opposed to purism. Allowance of such utility is in connection with the strengthening of the importance of the linkage between the feminine and masculine properties of language and social life[2]: as well as creating the neutral perspectives of change and adaptation. But there are strict catch points in the Soga offspring naming system which almost make the use of the matrilineal properties practically impossible. These catch points are so much so that a female gets automatically absorbed into her husband's clan that no voice is expected to be raised about the naming patterns of a clan she is alienated to. Extreme cases in relation to this were having smaller clans taking on the same totem as a bigger clan either through admiration or calculated marriages. An example here would be Abaise Kiyuuka who took on the Bushback as a totem shared with baisengobi (the dynastic clan of Busoga).

The elements of bilineal utility in naming offsprings is another way we can possibly explain the existance of similar names in clans of different ancestral origins. Also the naming system of offsprings is the key explanation to

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1) This is not quite the same as most social anthropologists have put it that a society is either patrilineal or matrilineal: as evidenced among Basoga in more than one instance.

2) Basoga have very specialised forms of speech distinguishing feminine and masculine properties applied to social life reality: particularly related to Soga dialects' categorisation.

the existence of different names in the same conjugal and nuclear families: which seems to be a universal phenomenon among Africans with clan traditions. The logic behind all this was to perpetuate genealogical ascents and preserve generational connectedness. Basoga had family genealogies going back to as far as some six generations. The royal clans are (in some cases) even reputed to go beyond these limits. The way these were kept was not by written records but mainly through strict naming systems, in addition to oral history taught by senior clan members (senior in age). Together with these was the intention of preserving historical knowledge of the past through having the dead re-named via new recruits in society. In accordance with this, there was the obligation to explain to new offspring whom and why they were named after. With these basic explanations there had to follow systematic education in clan matters, the clan's historical development up to current times, and these were usually versed to offspring at the same time as they dug into the socio-economic significance of one they are named after to his clan. If the one named after did not do much, then it was a must to trace back (in generations) as much as possible till an appropriate hero of the same name was found.

These explanations were shared socialisation duties of the patri-aunt (Songa), patri-uncle (Dhaadha), and patri-grand-parents (Dhaadha). After these basic stages, the offspring was at a level to attend clan-council meetings and discussions as an observer (if a boy) in order to gather more knowledge and check facts about the significant deads in the patriclan. The idealised script structuring through the naming system was mainly to mythologically equip offspring with comparative and contrasting criteria in forming children's life perception structures, with regard to awe and terror, and admiration and fear: as these variables depicted which value preferences were to be chosen from parents and grandparents, to groom the new clansman. If this was not well covered, it was said sibling rivalry (eLyuuse) could develop: and this was considered more less like a mind disease that had to be treated if properly diagnosed. In connection with eLyuuse, there were also certain things pregnant women were not allowed to do, and foods they were not supposed to eat: in order to avoid the offspring from being susceptible to eLyuuse.

Clans were also utilised in Soga life to help people manipulate their ways out of danger or enter into some sort of recognised socio-economic advancement. There are cases where a clan submerged itself within another clan to avoid extermination by a ruler. The original clan name was not disbanded but the protector clan's name was used in crisis. When things got better the clan being protected re-emerged out as a separate entity. Even Cohen (1972) gives an example where such a thing took place. He talks about the abaiseMususwa who hid among abaiseMusobya during conflict in Bukooli following the murder of a ruler by a

mwiseMususwa. During the imperial error, abaiseMususwa confidently re-emerged as abaiseMususwa and no longer called themselves abaiseMusobya.

Also the utility of clan relations can permanently alter a clan's composition through absorption or assimilation of alien groups. This may not have been a common phenomenon during times when states were being formed, as there were still chances for separate regional clamours, but it is now manifest among new migrants who go to Busoga in the Junja vicinity searching for jobs. These become too eager to assume Soga identification and their eventual absorption may be suggested without a clearly established traditional manner, even though their names will be from Soga clans. I came across a number of cases like this in Budondo area among recent Bagishu migrants. Even some still had elements of both Gishu names as well as Soga ones (i.e. two identification clan names effectively used in both Bugishu and Busoga). Thus although a clan name may differentiate operational kinship units, it may also not necessarily define the actual genetic units. Some way out of this was for Basoga to start naming all offspring after their father's clan name alone: and this is currently being increased even among older Basoga families who no longer feel too obliged to have separate names for same family members, as depicted by the old traditional principles.

More complex to this is that clan dispersion made it difficult for effective unified action. To overcome this Basoga instituted a much more localised smaller unit called eNda. This is a true uteral identification constituting actual partrilineal uteral geneology (i.e. having one female original mother of all belonging to the same eNda). But it should be particularly noted that even though this identification is based on the same mother, all names of clan members still belong to and follow patrilineage. At this level collective action was enhenced: and members of the same eNda could join at important occasions, like funerals, marriages, etc. A kinsman's funeral offered channels for the lineage to litigate fair inheritance. This was also a means through which patrilocal settlement was carried out, up to about five generations. These days things are more narrowed to domestic groups being composed of nuclear relatives at most: and clan activity is controlled through hierarchies established to be more conducive to socio-economic development.

What comes out clearly, after examining the family, the clan, and the naming system, in the manner I have done, is that:

a. In the old traditional Soga society, the family was a depiction of clan relations: and the differentiations I made earlier between the conjugal and nuclear family are of seminal importance in understanding different levels of socio-economic interaction.

b. In the old traditional Soga socio-economic activities, the clan went far beyond mere psychological support as it was a survival mechanism.

Note: Also in connedtion with the above two derivatives, refer to diag. 6 and table 4, (also refer to equation 4 in App. 2).

Because of these derivatives, the old Soga socio-economic activity was based on clan relations. This is because socio-economic supremacy in WPS was maintained through organisational linkages through the family, homestead, eKyaalo, and the old traditional political administration bureaucracies. As socio-economic activities in the old traditional society started having limitations in regional expansion, they started being exposed to a wider socio-economic planetarium: going beyond old clan boundaries. But still the clan did, and largely does still, depict family operative value systems.

Whereas the family was the relevant social cohesion unit, tending to stick members together; the clan was the most solidary group in Soga society. The clan could be depended on, and its solidarity depended on unity resulting from common interests or feelings. The clan operated as a descent socio-economic identity from which traditional values were depicted: and it provided Basoga with a place in the world outside family life. Thus the clan and family were tributaries for social aspects influencing valuation and socio-economic resource distribution in society. Clan significance was based on socially accepted normative ethics, cemented by a totem, from which socio-economic values were depected, controlled, maintained and perpetuated. The clan depicted specific socially accepted litigations for mate selection, interpersonal relations, and the family's relations with the patri and matri clans. The clan provides secutity reliance, even more so as clansmen served as protectors in wartime. Social control, heritage, and law and order were social aspects whose hightest authority was the clan council. Due to how the clan was used as a communication and personification medium, it emphasised the significance of the dead and living in current society. This it did through litigating the naming system of new recruits in society and categorically depicting ritualistic behaviours that were incorporated into religious practices. The religious practices Basoga had were a very important part of their general socio-economic life: as many religious elements were practically incorporated into old organisational and most socio-economic activities. We therefore need to spend some time on Soga old religious practices.

4:1 SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The motivational significance of what we have seen so far in family and clan relations is best comprehendable through examining the psycho-socio importance of religious practices among old traditional Basoga. A number of structural integration aspects are clearly seen in aspects of religious integrity: as divination is involved in a more than usually complex set of structural relationships. Spirit mediumship relates to the traditional histories of Busoga: with much of its content giving symbolic expression to Soga traditional political institutions and organisational structures. Divination, and out of curing by herbal remedies have both medical and psychological implications. This is through divination and traditional medicines providing a sense of security and continuity link with much of what is basically Soga.

If we examine possible scientific effectiveness of many traditional remedies, we get a step further to unearthing some of the bases of disease and mental illness among Basoga. Thus we can compare and contrast possibilities of applying local psychotherapeautic outlets in the therapy of disease and mental illness.

But it should be categorically noted that the actual structural relationships of religious practices in the social structures and life perceptions of the old traditional Basoga cannot be expected to be fully covered in brief work like this. They are merely shot in here, on an introductory basis, as intervening variates best utilised as explanundums to portray the psycho-socio significance of the old traditional Soga religious practices in Soga life-style[1].

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1) Further coverage in Religious Studies in Busoga can readily be achieved through works by Dr. Tuma and Mr. Bakwesegha.

Basoga worshipped ONE "supernatural power" responsible for making MAN and EARTHLY environment: and this power was personified in accordance with nature's inexplicable phenomena. To these phenomena specific descriptive names of the "supernatural power" (equivalent to GOD in the western sense) were prescribed: but this was not depicting different gods, as is commonly believed by some western scholars. The commonest personifying names I found out are: LUBAALE (the rock), GASANI (the helper), KIBUMBA (the potterer or sculptor), KATONDA (the creator), and a more rare one NABAMBA (the tuner). This "supernatural power" was invisible and could not be reached by men on earth. Basoga devised media which they believed housed spiritual mediators (eMisambwa) between themselves and the "supernatural power". Their prayers, offers, and communications with the "supernatural power" were done at these housing personifications: which varies from hills, rocks, trees, to river sources; with a hope that the housed mediators communicated their loyalty to the "supernatural power".

These media were spread all over different local communities: and were used by all clans irrespective of whatever else there was. But often clans preferred to have their own media in their regions as then wanted to avoid contact with "outsiders". The eMisambwa housed in these media had to be communicated with via professional religious men called aBasamize, who had priestly assignments in society. But there were exceptions when it came to internal home affairs (eby'omumaka): and here one could actually consult eMisambwa personally. Some eMisambwa (oMusambwa in singular form), were also thought to be the spirits of people who lived on earth and had displayed some supernatural prowess. So apart from the eMisambwa representing the actual "supernatural power", there were also those directly connected with supposedly real people who lived once upon a time. eMisambwa had more power than eMizimu (GHOSTS) and were often associated with such important forces as birth and marriage, and such "inexplicable" creations like water falls on Kiira (the Nile), lakes, rivers, hills, and forests: which they were supposed to safeguard. Some Basoga say that eMisambwa only showed up if displeased. Their life-vision was transmitted through real living object-shapes often dressed in barkcloth if in human form that would be seen moving: and one could possibly hear a voice or sound, yet without actually seeing the body of the person! This was something akin to "an invisible man whose clothes only could be seen". Whereas the forest eMisambwa were said to move about in respective forests, and river-lake eMisambwa were also

said to float on barkcloths on the water: those eMisambwa in static object personifications like stones were semi-statically housed, and only moved to strike. eMisambwa were consulted by local people if in difficulty: but the eMisambwa were never visible during consultation times. People only communicated with them directly by talking to them whereever they were housed (if in home affairs or "ebyo'mumaka"): but had to communicate via aBasamize (priests) in time of worship to the "supernatural power". To Basoga, the exceptioning of direct communication with eMisambwa was an instituted mechanism permitting to by-pass priests (aBasamize) and other religiously-related professionals (to come soon) who might be difficult or not even acquainted to newcomers.

It should be carefully noted that Basoga did not worship eMisambwa as such, as these were mere communication media with some unknown real "supernatural power" (differently personified according to nature's wonders) responsible for MAN and LIFE. Also among prominent eMisambwa were Kintu and Mukama and these had aMasabo (shrines) all over Busoga: and were often consulted too. Whenever Basoga settled in a new place, and before the erection of what was considered a permanent house, a tree (oMugaire) from which the barkcloth is made, was planted in dedication to Kintu as "OMUGAIRE GWA KINTU" literally meaning that that was Kintu's barkcloth. Blames of newborn deformities were associated with Mukama's wish for letting the child come into life like that as a compromise with WALUMBE (a death oMusambwa) who always wants as many people to die and get under his prowess. Kintu was the leading "oMusambwa" through difficulties encountered on the way to founding a settlement area. Mukama was the mediating protector of Basoga's lives from the vicious Walumbe who at all times advocates and litigates people's deaths. Also in addition to these, each clan had a clan's protector oMusambwa. This was said to be responsible for the clan's well-being: and often did warn clansmen about oncoming dangers or misfortunes. These clan eMisambwa were often said to be living "semi-tame" animals like leopards (empala ye'kika) or reptiles like big snakes: which clansmen fed as a matter of fact. Even graves of the dead (in a homestead) were said to have protective eMisambwa which saw to it that the graves were properly tendered. The tendering of graves (okusembeza abafu, or "bringing the dead near") involved marking graves with stones periodically and piling them on the graves to keep them distinctly visible as often rain washed away some of the soil pile. Since graves (aMagombe) were, as a rule, in plantain gardens (if not in the courtyard, or one of the huts in a homestead; in some royal dynasties): it was automatic as a must to wives to tender them whenever they tendered the gardens (ensuku).

Between life and death, Basoga strongly believed that at people's deaths their ghosts (eMizimu) remained behind alive on earth, in society among the living. These ghosts (eMizimu) of the dead were able to affect lives of their

descendants, of some very close friends (but rarely so) and of their enemies. Those living had therefore to take care in the burial and remembrance of the dead, particularly ancestors, reknown clansmen, chiefs, and other important figures in the active socio-economic world of the living: to properly place their eMizimu in life on earth. In each homestead there were properly allocated shrines (aMasabo) for important eMizimu in the patriclan. From time to time some form of food was rationed for eMizimu in their aMasabo: to keep them in touch with the living, and consultations were made to them in times of difficulty, (like eMisambwa were consulted). Even some difficulties in families were at time attributed to failure to appease the eMizimu through social recognition in active lives of Basoga. The food rationed to these eMizimu in their aMasabo was NOT[1] religious offering like Cohen (1972:19) says: as these eMizimu were very different from the "supernatural power's" eMisambwa personifications of LUGABA (the giver), LUBAALE (the rock), KATONDA (the creator), KIBUMBA (the potterer or sculptor), GASANI (the helper), NABAMBA (the tuner): variantly personified through trees, stones, water-falls, hills, etc. But, one should differentiate the "supernatural power" eMisambwa personifications from the eMisambwa of Kintu, Mukama, Walumbe, and protector eMisambwa in Ensuku at aMagombe sights and eMisambwa gye'Bika. Also to say that these eMizimu could not affect non-kinsmen (Cohen, 1972:19) is very wrong as some Basoga are said to have consulted (and even sent) their basic home-Mizimu to do harm to their enemies who may or may not have been kinsmen (better say clansmen). This is also evidenced through some clans being said to have eMizimu (especially warriors) to guide and protect them, while at the same time weakening the enemy. Contrary to Cohen (1972:19), there is also evidence among Basoga that reveals distantly related ancestors to have been the more complex affectors of the living: should they happen to have been annoyed or mishandled in social life. The eMizimu are directly associated with aMogombe (graves) since it was believed these were their fortresses of command in life, whereas aMasabo were their places for direct contact with the living. The aMagombe of the first men of each clan to arrive in Busoga were categorically known as eNkuni: and their spiritual powers were through eKuni-Mizimu which often were referred to as "MWEENE KIKA" or "the owner (founder) of the clan".

All clans were supposed to have eNkuni and this had a special dwelling place located where the clan-founder (actually the clan's regional founder) first settled or arrived

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1) True, this food was religious-centred, but the explanations given concerning it seem to reflect the opposite. It is rationed in the same manner as to those physically present at a meal, and not considered as an offering on religious basis.

in Busoga. eNkuni were NOT worshipped as creators of the clan like Cohen (1972:19) says: BUT were similarly assigned social status, in active life, by all clansmen (followers of the founder), as in the case of homestead aMasabo where homestead eMizimu were. The only difference is that in eNkuni dwelt the clan-founder's oMuzimu: and as this oMuzimu was basic to all clansmen's homesteads that was why clansmen had to pay their socio-economic dues to it just like they did with their respective homestead eMizimu in aMasabo. However, beyound this eNkuni (which were dwelling places of clan-founders' eMizimu) were also socially accepted communication media with the "supernatural power" responsible for the clansmen's existence in the new environment's life, where their clan-founder had led them to: as they themselves did not know exactly which particular instituted form for worship-representation (which oMusambawa form represented the "supernatural power" to the clan) the clan used before the clan-founder's new regional establishment. As a matter of fact, some Basoga who belong to the much lesser subjugated clans cautiously pointed out to me that "the so-called royal dynasties may boast of all that and their well-known eNkuni, but those of us who truely were the earliest owners of this land know confidently that such and such oMasambwa was the chief communication medium for such and such a clan in different issues: instead of referring to a mere clan founder's eNkuni". Any offerings that were made to eNkuni were not to the oMuzimu whose eNkuni they were offered to: but that oMuzimu of the clan-founder had a social bond with the living clansmen to take (or communicate through) the clansmen's religious dues to their "supernatural power" that led them to whereever they were, through the man whose eNkuni was the only observable personified communication medium. This was certainly not worshipping eNkuni.To clansmen, the clan-founder's oMuzimu dwelling in his eNkuni was "truly" a "holy spirit" through which they had contact with the LUGABA, LUBAALE, GASANI, KATONDA, KIBUMBA, NABAMBA, of life. Like consultations made to homestead aMasabo by family members, and those made to eMisambwa personifications (places where eMisambwa were housed), eNkuni were also consulted by clansmen, in times of need and war. Clans that moved to a new territory or new grounds far away from their eNkuni could actually make (or found) a new eNkuni in local areas where they settled. After this they had to invite oMusamize (priest) to call in spiritual recognition by oMuzimu in the chief eNkuni where the clansmen came from. When this was ritualistically done, and formally authenticated in society, clansmen could legally attach all religious rituals to the newly established eNkuni: but still with the chief eNkuni where they broke off from: and had once in a while (a few years' lapse) to pay pilgrimage to the chief eNkuni. This way one finds many eNkuni of the same oMuzimu spread all over Busoga but with a specific headquarter somewhere. These branch eNkuni only acted as "parishes" based on some headquarter: and it was possible to authenticate branch eNkuni through aBasamize (priests) whose duties were

socially accepted to go beyond clan-boundaries of their patriclans. Through such a mechanism Basoga had what Cohen (1972:21) merely referred to as "The NKUNI were beneficent: and could travel with clan segments as they dispersed to secondary settlement places within Busoga, but the primary NKUNI site in Busoga was remembered as such".

The static media (i.e. Trees, Hills) were often incorporated into the system by the more settled Basoga. Those on the move used other means (like eNkuni being movable). aBasweezi developed out of probable adjustments to being on the move. These aBasweezi are very likely to be related to the Bachwezi cult groups found in pastoral parts of western Uganda, in Ankole. aBasweezi formed a corporate group that crossed clan boundaries in social life, but PDC-system's life was otherwise based on clan depictions as they lived on their patriclan grounds. aBasweezi were said to be a religious cult where converts became so only after being possessed by important supernatural powers that were to be perpetuated in survival among living Basoga: and their social roles were more less taken in a "disciple" manner (making them being considered as chosen disciples). aBasweezi were also often active aBasamize. A group of aBasweezi I was exposed to had NABAMBA (the tuner) as their "supernatural power" medium. This name "NABAMBA" points out further to their possible connections with Bachwezi in Ankole: where the old traditional descriptive praise word for the king is "RUBAMBANSI" or "the Nkole empire's tuner". Unique to aBasweezi is the fact that they never used stones to mark graves. Instead they poured ritualistic (divine) water or beer on them, and danced on them to firmly kick the dead in the new life of death they had entered. Otherwise they had homestead aMasabo like all other Basoga did.

Among all Basoga was instituted a believed ability to search for or call back a lost ghost (oMuzimu) of a man who died far away (i.e. on travel or drowned at some distant river, or probably eaten up by some wild animal). This involved complex religious and ritualistic activities carried out through oMusamize (priest) after the oMulaguzi had diagnosed the whereabouts of the lost person's oMuzimu was wandering in despair. The oMulaguzi (fore-seer, diagnoser of mental disorder, also at times used as a soothsayer) was a professional (mostly men) medium who could diagnose the specific trouble at hand and could recommend a remedy to placate the particular bothersome ghost. He was also supposed to foretell about future developments: and said to be able to direct calamity to other people (especially enemies at war). oMulaguzi was a skilled practitioner of divination. aBalaguzi went to teach aBaswezi skills of divination automatically as soon as they heard of newly converted aBaswezi. aBalaguzi were also often very well trained medicinemen (aBasawo): who used medicines from herbs, trees, roots, and specific

birds, animals, and insects for actual cure of those stricken by disease. In essence aBalaguzi's duties included mostly "present day psychiatric duties" in the European countries. But in practice, oMulaguzi who specialised in pure psychiatric work was called OMUIWA. They were also often called upon in connection with state-foundations: where strategic diagnostic consultations were needed from royal eMizimu housed in royal aMasabo (responsible for state foundation and preservation). The royal eMizimu often became personified state figures, and had to be acknowledged by all residents in a state (especially the old traditional rulers).

aBasamize, on the other hand, were professionals with priestly powers to actually pray and beg the "supernatural power" responsible for man, life, and nature: to help and preserve the Basoga people. For this reason they were the rightful people to complete the aBalaguzi's diagnosed lost people's ghost calling back and assigning these ghosts places in society, to stop them bothering people (especially relatives). aBasamize carried out OKUSAMIRA, a complex religious ritual involving the drinking and eating of certain significatory chosen substances (like bread and wine in christian holy communion). The conduct of oMusamize's prayers and begging were through some peculiar music (with unique musical instruments) and actions under "the supernatural power's" spiritual possession: which occurred only during the service. Their services to the "supernatural power" enabled aBasamize to act beyond clan boundaries to serve all Basoga alike: though they themselves otherwise belonged to specific patriclans. In fact aBasamize (priests), aBasweezi (disciples), and aBalaguzi (foreseers, diagnosers, and soothsayers as well as medicinemen), together with aBasawo[1] (local doctors): were professionals in the old Soga traditional life who, by social rights and standards, had to act beyond clan boundaries in local life conduct. But when talking about aBasawo (local doctors or medicinemen) we have to clearly differentiate them from aBalaguzi who often were trained medicinemen too. aBasawo were locally trained medicinemen who could operate professionally on village (Kyaalo), Kisoko, Mutala and state levels: depending on availability in society and professional success. aBasawo were professionally trained to cure disease and nothing more: and were socially respected as assets to society, just as aBalaguzi, aBasamize, (aBaiwa), and other professions in society like aBawumbi (potterers and sculptors), aBaweesi (blacksmiths), aBabaadhi (carpenters) etc. etc. BUT because of their medicinal skills which enabled them to categorically differentiate various

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1) Often aBasawo combined their duties with those of aBaiwa, and this resulted in an interchange of titular names for each other.

degrees of poisonous plants, animals, insects, birds, and juices: aBasawo and aBalaguzi were secretly consulted by aBalogo to efficate aBalogo's antisocial manoeuvres.

Like among the Luo (see Ocholla, 1976: Ch. VII) oMulogo is an antisocial person who, at night, runs and dances naked in front of other people's houses, kicks their doors: with an aim to frightening and eventually kill them. In Busoga aBalogo are said to also actually poison their victims through drinks, food and air: and that they have magical powers enabling them to call dead bodies out of their graves, and then use them in wicked practices. To this, I was explained to, pertains the old Soga practice of burying the dead with some home cutlery and (broken spear heads) so that if attacked by oMulogo at night the dead's ghost will refuse the body to follow oMulogo on grounds that the dead person was doing something homely. It is said that aBalogo look at people all the time with yearns to have them dead. aBalogo are (up to now) antisocial characters against whom there are instituted exceptional law and order allowing people to instantly kill them if caught in action, and ostracisation mechanisms litigated in society against strongly suspected individuals if they do not prove the suspicions to be wrong.

Since aBalogo were a socially officiated antisocial people, their consultations of aBasawo and aBalaguzi undermined the usufruct valuable social role prescriptions of the two socially useful and desired professions in old Soga traditional society. In a society like Busoga: full of conflicts, rivalries, and hatreds, aBalogo fearfully gained strong grounds and with this came complete (or almost complete) undermining of aBasawo and aBalaguzi. aBalogo are said to also have undermined aBasamize in similar ways. When European christian spread started in Uganda, and Busoga, christian evangelists strategically used the aBalogo smear on traditional professionals to win converts and with the help of modernised medical and health cares through hospitals and dispensaries as well as health centres, conversion to christianity gained substantial grounds in Busoga. Also the socio-economic expectations through christianity (via schools) won many. But for those who knew what was beneath the smear, it led to commonly found mistrust and suspiciousness, by some Basoga, towards christianity and modernised medical practices. One still finds some Basoga (even among the so-called educated) who readily refuse to go for modern treatment when it comes to some locally diagnosed diseases. All people in the modernised medical professions non-exclusive have been "traditionalised" as aBasawo. But also earlier on (1920-1955) there were a number of court cases of illegal practices for selling and misusing medicares from hospitals, dispensaries and health centres: by civil service employees who posed like aBasawo to the less educated, for as long as they had jobs to do with medical

services in the central government. However, what is significant here are the psycho-socio implications of the religious-centred social activities sprouting out of assigning the dead respective social recognitions among the living.

Basoga had various ways of accomodating themselves to their life-realities depending on the "existential values" at issue. On some of the religiously personified trees that housed some eMisambwa, people used to tie bundles (ENFUNTA) of cereals like maize and millet as thanksgiving offers (especially after harvests). It was antisocial (as a religious irresponsibility) to eat such divine cereals set aside for Lugaba-Gasani. However, interestingly enough some people who, out of need, were forced to break the divine rules protecting the divine foods: were understangingly treated.

One state, Busiki, is a rather dry area in Busoga. During long droughts the people there often run short of food. It is commonly said in some neighbouring states that the people in Busiki (aBasiki) did, sometime in the past, resort to organised plundering of neighbour states' ENFUNTA to keep their families alive. According to old Soga religious practices this was certainly anti-social. But their neighbours, who knew exactly why aBasiki plundered their ENFUNTA, did not raise this as a very serious breach of social order. Instead they negatively and jokingly connoted to aBasiki the description of "aBasiginhyi abagwananfunta". The word "okusigninhya" (also known in some states as OKUTENGEESA) literally means TO SHAKE. "aba" is a prefix added to human descriptions meaning THEY. "oku + gwa" means to fall down. "na" means WITH. Thus (ba + gwa + na +nfunta) was a word added to aBasiki, who now had become "aBasiginhyi" because they carried out "okusiginhya" as they first had to shake the bundles (enfunta) to feel their content worth: to help decide which eNfunta were worth snatching. Thus Basoga in the neighbourhood started teasing them as "aba + siginhyi + aba + gwa + nanfunta" meaning the aBasiki people who fell down with their eNFUNTA to go and save themselves. To aBasiki this must not have been taken as theft since religious practices made the dead a social reality to the living: and in this case divine food was only being used to save the living.

Death (okufa) was an accepted reality, and the dead (abafu) were openly talked about in society as:

"oMufu x said or did such and such" (omufu is singular form for abafu)

"Nguli x " " " " " "

"oMugenzi x " " " " " "

Such descriptions were often referred to during historical discussions, courts of law, and reviews of specific uniquely vital clan unifications (i.e. marriage discussions, and burial remembrance speeches). The three descriptive words OMUFU, OMUGENZI, and NGULI mean "the late...": BUT they had classificatory implications. OMUFU referred to a dead person by all present at the death ceremony just before burial. After that it was prescriptively reserved to conjugal and nuclear relatives of the dead person. OMUGENZI was used after the burial ceremonies are over, by family members (of the dead) and all clansmen alike, especially if the dead was liked through outstanding good past records in life. NGULI was mostly prescribed to outsiders and non-clansmen of the dead. But if the dead was not particularly a good character to clansmen (by clan standard) then they were sanctioned to refer to him/her by this term in their active local life conduct. Otherwise if a clansman referred to a fellow dead clansman like that he would more less expect an automatic inquiry whether he/she had any ill feelings about the dead person. Still, the actual prescriptive uses of these terms varied a little from state to state and one should mark some differential interpretations if in the area.

When a person died, it was a must for family members and the patriclan to inform all relatives (especially clansmen) that so and so died. The informing of those concerned about someone's death is called OKUBIKA, and the special informers selected for the duty are called aBabisi (oMubisi in singular form). But this person called oMubisi should be differentiated from two other meanings of the word omubisi:

1. omubisi (also sometimes called "omubudu") which refers to a person, adolescent in age or mind but with hope to become wise if properly exposed to life realities.

2. omubisi which means a drink (soft drink or "saft" in Swedish) made from ripe banana, (Ntudhu species in Lusoga), good for both adults and children alike. Ripe Ntudhu is on the way to dying and rotting but usefully brewed by Basoga adults and non-adults alike.

The oMubisi (person), also sometimes called oMubise (which in turn can mean a passerby) is a good character to people in society because he/she summons the living that "x" is dead, and do not forget that "x" is part of society still: therefore go and pay due respect to his/her burial and mourning etc. Incidentally the burial occurred in eNsuku (banana gardens, from where Ntudhu was got to make omubisi in 2.). In connection with other socio-economic and sentimental attachments to eNsuku and aBafu: the aBafu's grave placing in eNsuku was to assure their social and phychological importance to the living Basoga. The aBafu had to be properly mourned (OKULIRA aBafu) right

from their moment of death, just before and during burial, and sometime (2-4 weeks after burial), all the way up to OKWAABYA oLumbe. Okwaabya oLumbe was the officiated consencration of the dead as being considered non-living in the active Soga socio-economic society: but still with specified psycho-socio roles in society among the living. The actual mourners (those who carried out the very physiological act of crying) were supposed to be female members of society called ABALIZI. The male members of society were supposed to masculinely take death's acceptance without actual tear-shading like females. aBalizi had very special treatments during the mourning period, and very strict respect used to be assigned to them then. During that time they were not supposed to do any household work at all except go and mourn. The female members of the dead person's family skipped all that to do with household work then: and other closer female clanmembers had to do it instead, plus village neighbours especially if they were non-clansmen.[1)]

The word OKULIRA originated from the very essence of human strive for life against death: when a new-born first makes cries to signify entry into life. This, new-borns must do while still on their umbilical cords (eNdira or OLULIRA in singular form) just before they are cut off. The first cry was believed to be the request from the new-born to the adult living, to set him/her free from OLULIRA: and since the cry was to signify the child's LIVING, he/she had to cry to enter the "living world", while the adults had to cry (mourn) goodbye to the dead. Each of these two basic (first and last) cries in Soga life had special religious-centred rituals to go with it. The females (particularly family members) who cried (mourned) during death ceremonies had to physically differentiate themselves in society during this time by tying rope-like banana fibres called EMIGE (oMuge in singular form) around their heads to signify their genuine loss of one they liked. In connection with this, there developed the word OMUGENZI referring to the late lost one (deceased) whom they liked while alive: as OKUGENZA means to like OMUGONZI or a likeable person. Also oKugenza means looking after a sick person (on bed) who is more less expected to die: and at any rate must be OMUGONZI to whoever looks after him/her or else they would not bother. Thus OMUGENZI, if used to refer to the dead, significantly means "one who made us put EMIGE on our heads), and since the ones who prescriptively had to do so were clansmen, in the first degree, that accounts for why the actual usage of OMUGENZI in social communication was exceptioned to clansmen.

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1) Specification of non-clansmen's help here is in connection with the friendly linkage demands among village-mates; which is discussed in connection with land ownership depictions.

As all the socio-economic and psycho-socio normative ethics and ideological depictions embedded in the old Soga religious-centred activities were mostly met through the family structure: when christianity spreads were introduced it was family values which were mostly worked upon. Christian preachers (missionaires) accepted KATONDA (an originally "pagan" name for the many traditional gods, according to westerns christianity morals) as GOD in their bible. The bible is, however, a religious history book about a people very different from Basoga. Another alien religious history book, the koran, came on the scene and propagated for islam. The two religions developed intense rivalry among Basoga (and Ugandans as a whole) so much that political identifications also assumed religious elements of belief. Thus the two books: the bible and koran, introduced new confrontations between European and Arab valuational systems into the old established traditional Soga valuational depictions: and started to effectively undermine the old family structure. This eventually led to a number of the so-called modernised Basoga manifestly displaying uncertainty to exact locations of their family structures in society, vis a vis modernised and old traditional socio-economic activities.

5:1 SOME STRAIN IMPLICATIONS IN SOGA LIFE-STYLE PATTERNS

The actual incorporation of religious practices into Soga social order is mainly traceable through eMizimu and eMisambwa relations to Basoga in family and clan organisational principles, through:

a. different level authority differentiation.

b. different status personificationf of eMisambwa (and eMizimu) in relation to one supernatural power.

c. the social roles of medico-religious professionals in Soga society.

The value attachments to Soga religious practices (by Basoga), their respect and placement of the dead in active society: which led to fierce Soga sentimental attachments to land ownership, are but some examples of how elements out of religious practices were incorporated into socio-economic activity[1]. How European, chiristian, and islamic influences affected Basoga became of prime importance in the stability and instatility of individuals in society and society itself.

To the Soga community, the clan was a unifying tacit 'principle' of behaviour: which was (or should have been) for the individual, a guiding principle for his conduct. The clan related to the discovery of the self, for the individual, identification, and formulation of personal identity. The individual's self is here being considered as

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1) It should be particularly noted that though I try to cover much of the socio-economic significances of Soga Religious Practices; there are some very important issues I leave out. This is mainly in connection with "hot" debateble issues like grave alignments. For this work it is fair enough not to speculate on these; as there are variations in explanations based on state and clan origins.

a symbolic entity with a standing, and qualitative evaluation[1]: rather than mere biological entity to be fed, comforted, and reproduced. This means the individual had to examine his worth as a social person against the current values in his society. Every Musoga had means of examining themselves since in the Soga cultural standards were embedded ideals of what a typical Musoga ought to be[2]. This evaluation was through the individual's acceptance by the clan, on terms of reciprocal identification: and the esteem accorded to him by his clan, as well as his ability to command attention and respect from it. These were manifestly reflected through rewards accorded to him, in the old traditional Soga society. But in the modernised Soga society some more factors have to be considered.

The failure or uncertainty for modernised Basoga to locate themselves and their family structures in society: vis a vis modernised and old traditional socio-eocnomic activities, is a result of value conflict. The value conflict effects (between old traditional and modernised socio-economic activities) are easily observable through increasing failure to provide youths with proper, consistent and meaningful templates for behaviour. This has greatly deprived the youth of means to estimate their own personality, and hence developing a self-image meaningful and acceptable: by both themselves and society.

Basoga became confronted with different ideologies, moral norms and religious dogmas in christianity, islam, and their own old religious practices[3]. The old traditional Soga values lost some impact in providing clear strategies (i.e. rites de passage) for important changes in the individual's life cycle. Due to some changes in family life roles: indivuduals found themselves at loggerheads with contradictory values and behavioural norms. The transition from adolescence to adulthood became more fuzzy as

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1) By evaluation I mean the making of a judgement upon the having of an experience.

2) It is very difficult to spell out (in my case) what a typical ideal Musoga was expected to be: both because there are slight variations between old states, and I would probably be more biased in accordance with my personal value evaluations.

3) Both christianity and islam have ideologies basically different from the old traditional ideological depictions embedded in religious practices that became devalued as a result of being labelled "PAGAN".

individuals became more uncertain in choosing appropriate values introducing them to their future status. This followed from the breakage of the old closer traditional bonds between the adult generations and their offsprings in the socialisation process (ref. to 2:2). Children became incorporated into the education system for "Standardised formal socialisation" in a westernised context. At the same time, adult individuals became more exposed to simultaneous statuses (i.e. some man being a christian teacher, father, and clan official): which devalued much of their service efficiency in the new more complex socio-economic structure.

Many Basoga (especially those over forty years of age: as of 1972) are themselves very aware of most of these value changes and their effects on the well-being of their social life. As an example I will quote an elderly mother (in her sixties) who lost her only son a few months after she had lost her husband. The words she uttered aloud at oLumbe (funeral ceremony) while mourning her grandson are what conveyed to me most,how she places herself in life after all these misfortunes[1]. I will write the utterance in verse form and then translate its meaning to project its relevance to this work.

Iwe, baaba, lata, nkoba.
Katyo nguli wali Ngobi wandighangaire.
oMusoga ti Musoga aghazira kika.
eKika ti kika aghazira baidhukulu.
Abalamu na'bafu munsi ne'bidhukizo mu Lugaba.
Okufiirwa ti kutoolwaaku aghali eizaire.
Mu izaire, mu isanhyu, mu isingiro, ni mu naku tuli balala
Aye, oMugonzi otulekeire ani?
Batabane baakava ku ndira.
Tukulira aye eKika tikikaali nga bwetwaazaalibwa.
Katumale gaghampira eyo mu'naku yaife.
Kasita eyo ne'ngira yaife twenatwena.
Lugaba atugha nga Walumbe atulya.

Literally translated, these words mean:

You, father, my father, I say
If you were Ngobi[2] you would have lived longer.
A Musoga is not a Musoga without a clan.
A clan is not a clan without grandchildren.
The living and the dead in the world are remembrances
through the giver.

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1) To fully understand the value-content of these misfortunes she expressed in the utterance, I discussed what were the basic ideas behind "such drama" with even older members (at the funeral) than herself.

2) Ngobi is a ruler-dynasty name.

Loss through death is not deprivation in reproduction.
In reproduction, in happiness, in worship, and in
sorrow we are the same.
But our beloved, whom have you left us?
Your male children have just left umbilical cords.
We mourn you, but the clan is not like when we were born.
Let us just loiter in our sorrow,
Since this is the way for all of us.
The giver gives, while death eats us up.

Such utterances used to be part and parcel of the mourners (aBalizi): and it was females who were culturally sanctioned[1] to doing it aloud. These days some simply get away by just shedding a few dry tears at the actual burial. But let us examine the thought-content in this more closely.

In this translation I will only select sentences I consider very revealing. In the second sentence she presupposes that he would perhaps have lived longer if he had been one of those from the ruling dynasties (supposedly taking it for granted that he would have done a risk-free job). I found out that the deceased had been a policeman killed on duty. In the third and fourth sentences she stresses clan survival through reproduction. In the fifth and sixth sentences she associated the importance of the dead and living in Soga society. In the seventh sentence she portrays the significance of reproduction, happiness, religious practice, and sorrow in Soga life. In the eighth and tenth sentences she regrets about the sons of the deceased being too young (and therefore of no immediate support value, economically, to the family): and that the clan is no longer what it used to be in the past (valuational-wise). Lastly, in the rest of her mourning she realistically accepts that death is part of life we have to end up in.

These open manifestations reveal changes in values from the past. In connection with this, let us examine further the cultural meanings of OMUGE. The situation of this women prompted her to have oMuge[2] on her head, and she did. But in actual fact there was much more to her utterance, culturally, than mere mourning. She did, like she

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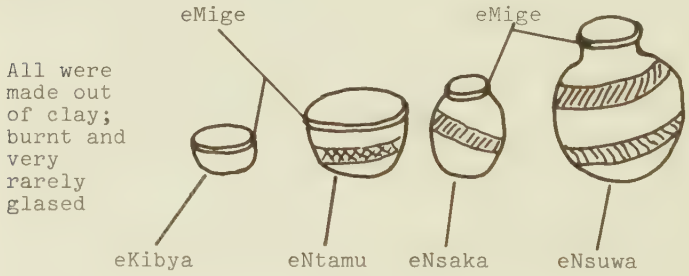
1) It was considered a cultural virtue to womanhood if a woman was good at mourning: and critical gossip in society was selectively permissible, about a female (over fifteen years old) who could not. If there were any blames connected to this, they were directed to the mother, patri-aunts, and sometimes grandmothers: for bad child rearing.

2) For the meaning of oMuge refer to 4:1 in connection with the dead and living in Soga society.

was supposed to, put her appeals to whoever was at the funeral for assistance in raising the deceased man's young children since there was no adult male heir to take on the responsibilities. Those she appealed to, at the funeral, were and had to be clan matriclan relatives (who in this case, according to Soga clan depictions, could be no other than those from the widow's parents' side). The thought and actual behavioural contents behind all this scene can be easily understood through examining how else eMige (oMuge in singular form) were incorporated in Soga culture. Actual penetration of the cultural meaning of OMUGE was an unintended result of a series of word-analysis discussions in different parts of Busoga.

When one carefully examines Soga cultural materials, one finds eMige on eBibya (soup bowls), eNtamu, (cooking bowls), eNsaka (soup and stew-making pots), and eNsuwa (water and beer (eMalwa) pots): as illustrated in the following diagram:

Diag. 9



All these[1] were old traditional domestic utensils, now mostly replaced by glass bowls, cups, plates, and aluminium cooking pots (Sefuliya). The people who used these were, in the first instance, family members (supposed to be aBagonzi[2]). Any outsider who visited the family (and mostly clan relatives or members) had to be aBagonzi in order to at least have access to utilising any of those utensils. Here the chief support of such people, in this family, was lost and they could no longer listen to his words alive.

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1) Out of the four domestic utensils only eKibya was individually owned: while the rest often commonly belonged to the entire family (or household).

2) For the meaning of oMugonzi see also 4:1 in connection with oMuge.

In the case of eNsuwa, the male head of the family (deceased) was once in a while obliged to invite some close clan and village friends to beer (aMalwa) drinking where the drinkers (males) used straws (eNseke) to drink out of the same eNsuwa[1]. This was a sociability obligation (obuwayi): and those who were invited had to be aBagonzi to the family. While at the beer pot, some problems related to family matters, clan or village matters were openly discussed: and advices and solutions were reached. These were often very closed domestic issues which no man wanted to leak out to anyone except oMugonzi (or aBangonzi), of the host. This way some crucial domestic problem issues were solved without even reaching clan heads and councils. In fact most marriage settlements were also reached this way by the partners' relatives: through such a meeting of aBagonzi (often senior clan relatives) of both the boy and girl in question. What is known among Basoga as OKWANDHULA (or presentation of the intended husband to be by the girl to her parents and relatives) was a similar meeting: formalised for the sake of publicly declaring the bride-wealth to be given to the girl's clan. Such a formalisation of transactions involved in the marriage process was the actual ritualistic cementing of obligations, expectations and behavioural patterns between the two clans. With these went formal incorporations into Soga life of such actions like this desparate woman conveyed via her mourning. In fact, when I called back at the closing ceremony of the funeral (OKWAABYA) I found out that the young children were shared out between the two clans in question, for proper raising. She (the grandmother) had been entrusted with looking after their land and property (under the children's patriclan supervision). The mothers[2] of the children (two, and the children were four) were more less given freedom to re-marry wherever they pleased: and this was why the grandmother became the key trustee. Also there was no younger brother to the deceased who would have been obliged to take over wives according to old traditional depictions.

It was explained to me that when there arose situations where officiated clan authority became questionable marriage was utilised as an outlet to problem-solving. Marriage served to establish links between kinship groups. Traditionally, marriage was arranged through one of the girl's (bride's) patri-aunts, and one of the boy's (bridegroom's) uncles. These days there are negotiations in-

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1) I myself have had at least four opportunities to be present at such a meeting since childhood but I was not allowed to drink due to my age and social status "as a youth".

2) These mothers (widows) were sisters from the same patriclan: and both were below thirty years of age.

volved between the couple composites, merely needing formmal approval by elders. But a marriage can still occur without approval by elders. Bride-wealth served both to formally seal the marriage by litigating it, and was a socio-economic bond for both clans to support the marriage link. From then on the husband owed certain services and obligations to the wife's clan although he would never be a member of her patri-clan. These responsibilities are these days mostly extended to her parents only and maybe her uteral siblings. In events of separation (or divorce) the bride-wealth was returned to the groom's side. By 1972 there were about three legal ways of recognised marriage which one could cunningly exploit to get three wives without penalty[1]. He can go to church, according to imported religion: he can get another through traditional litigation, and he could also go to a registration office if he wished. However, the current socio-economic pressure of cost of living and educating children make it not so easy as it sounds.

Marriage in the case of Basoga illustrates a number of basic values strategic in old traditional Soga life-style. Settlement after marriage was mainly patrilocal or neolocal.

For any clan, the marriage of a female member increased the force of personnel outside the clan whom could be called upon in crisis. This was useful to commoner clans, and a power pivot in the ruling clans. This may account for why Basoga used to value daughters. With many daughters, one was then sure to get more wealth; via bride-wealth. This meant socio-economic advancement, and extended potentials from which to rally men if at war. Above all, clan intermarriages increased social interaction spectra while bride-wealth cemented them.

Polygynous marriage was the ideal Kisoga marriage arrangement. The more wives a man had the better off he was economically, in relation to agricultural labour supply, and hence the more powerful he became in the WPS. Among commoner clans encouragement was given to taking on a man's wife's sister as a second wife in order to strengthen the tie between the two clans concerned. Chiefs could vary choices since they searched for both political and non-political links with the population at large. A chief's wifes usually rallied their kinsmen to the ruler's side. Possibilities of a wife and her kinsmen being "mother" to a ruler's successor was another important factor in socio-economic ladders of Soga peasant life.

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1) These three possibilities of marriage type loosened the significance of the old traditional type of marriage.

With successors there were two types:

a) OMUSIKA WENKOBA - who was an heir to "the belt", and was usually a younger brother of the deceased (collaterial or real).

b) OMUSIKA WEMBISI - an heir of the deceased man's socio-economic property, and was the dead man's eldest son.

The MUSIKA WENKOBA became the guardian of the deceased man's nuclear family, and was to take on the wife or wives (referred to as "enkoba"), and other symbolic articles of the dead man. This "Musika wenkoba" was to actually fill the dead man's roles in most situations. Kisoga traditional kinship system had therefore distinct succession and inheritance patterns. Family status passed horizontally while family property passed vertically. Soga kinship system also applied to collateral kins across family lines: and had classificatory sibling arrangements. It is important to note at this stage however that both succession and inheritance (as seen in this context) were and still are very volatile pivotal links to social organisation, as bitter conflicts often emerges out of them (as evidenced in many a clan-council and court records in Busoga). All depended on situational pressures and the different modes of life people adapted to achieve their ends.

What is of critical significance, to me, here is the perceptive realities of the people concerned. For individual Basoga, the nature of reality was derived from the cultural screening of their personal percepts.

One of the basic uses of the old Soga traditional education system was to teach the oncoming individual (in his/her upbringing) the virtues and vices of knowing differential limitations and how usefully they could be applied in situational adaptations. The words "to limit" are called "OKUGERA". OKUGERA also means to tell stories. Story-telling was one of the effective means of communicating oral history among Basoga: particularly concerning important cultural matters (ref: the naming system). To have had access to being taught in the above two mentioned manners, one had to be oMugonzi[1] to the teacher. Hence this priority-screening mechanism limited oncoming youngsters to clan teaching devices since they offerred the individual optimal possibilities for getting acquainted with elements of good citizenship through being friendly to those who matter. In connection with this one should also mark the significance of the word "okugonda" (to be soft). The old traditional student was expected to

1) Omugonzi as used here means to be likeable on positive friendly terms. For further differentiation of how Omugonzi is used in Lusoga see 4:1.

be soft enough to his teacher to facilitate "mental malleability" for his teacher who progressively shaped him into ethics of good citizenship. He had to obey. (But also this had its negative sides.)

Strictly speaking the word oKugera (meaning to limit) was originally commonly applicable to "mental limiting" in connection with OKUGERAGERANHYA, which means "to reason out within culturally acceptable means" (or to outweigh). Through this people compared and contrasted the ideal, factual and situational life-perceptions, of reality. Actual physical measurements (i.e. distances and lengths) were treated under the word "oKupima"; which is directly linked to EMPIIMA (meaning war spear). eMpiima were used to conquer territorial demarcations in state-founding.

Since physical measurements could (at least used to) have easily led to disputes that led to battles (where eMpiima were used) the logic was to link this delicacy to eMpiima as a culturally based significance.

For Basoga, as a group, the conventionalised realities accepted by them (according to old traditional depictions) were consensuses of individual percepts. The resulting general structure of thought and action (learnt early in life) had directed responses to socially sanctioned cues to behaviour that emerged to consciousness when subjected to challenges in life-style. These are such challenges as problems solved at funerals, at beer-pot meetings, and the new value exposures to and through westernised ideologies. This is where one of the most critical links between what we have seen so far, and between traditional and socio-economic value changes lies. This is mainly because we basically are dealing with problems of discovery, assessment, and more less predicting Soga behavioural responses going beyond clan boundaries.

It is important to mark the changes in family life roles, the exposure to simulteneous statuses, and the awareness of value changes by Basoga themselves. All these are factors with tremendous weights in penetrating the old Soga traditional social order and economy.

Summary

This work deals with problems of/and associated with the integrity of past and present Soga socio-economic values. This is done through examining the historical development of clan utility in socio-economic matters related to Soga social structure, and PDC-system development. I postulated that actual integration as such, though generally applicable to few parameters, gets structurally changed when exposed to new social interaction complexities and qualitative aspects of socio-economic development. This change has profound longterm existential changes which in turn mould the nature of social life-style patterns of the people affected. In discerning the old traditional life-style in contrast to the so-called modernised way of life, the ultimate aim was to examine closely the relationships between traditional action and socio-economic development. The inquiry is therefore related to how Basoga have adapted themselves to new man-made conditions of socio-economic change, (and technological development).

The historical background of Basoga reveals that Basoga are a people who have gone through various socio-economic changes, interaction, and relationships not only among themselves: but also with the external world from the time of existence of their history. The first socio-economic structure of Busoga was formed by roaming hunters in the interior, and fishers who meandered on the river Mpologoma system. A more permanent socio-economic structure was first made by agricultural settlers along the rivers and among peripheral hills in the south around Bugulu. These cultivators later migrated northward and southward in Busoga, emerging with the hunting and fishing communities to form a mixed stable socio-economic structural system. This was later solidfied by pastoral groups from the north who introduced cattle rearing into the system forming a higher order of socio-economic system of Basoga. Maps 1 and 2 help illustrate historical backgrounds of the ethnic groups that joined to form a unified socio-economic system of the old Sogaland.

From the naming system we can not only affirm Basoga as being clan orientated, but also we discover clan elements of the past ethnic groups that formed permanent interacting relationships of the Soga socio-economic structure. Thus, Busoga was not a single unified society as such. Its unity consisted of a repetition of numerous political subdivisions of an essentially common socio-economic patterns and organisational structures.

Basoga, as a tribe, are treated as a diagnostic identification of equivalence. As a tribe they have been (and still are) subject to continuums of variables in relation to variates (particular values of variables) of:

1. the social order they originated from and the one they belong to now
2. their operational socio-economic interactional levels
3. external value-generating factors in their local life conduct.

Variations in socio-economic interactions in Busoga are still based on the old significance level depictions - the CLAN. But this has been subjected to changing variates that have been creating new significance levels in socio-economic matters: more based on formalised school educational achievements and pure economic terms. Both the old and new variates are responsible for creating social differences in contemporary Busoga which is part of Uganda: and on these are based some poverty problems.

Through classifying interactional levels, describing them, and drawing rules of evidence for valid interferences on socio-economic and traditional value changes in Busoga, we have been able to examine the type of transition the Soga society has undergone[1]. In order to understand the answer to the problem, I thought it appropriate to begin from the traditional socio-economic importance of clan relations among Basoga. I defined tradition as the handing down of beliefs, customs, opinions, etc., and the adjective "traditional" has been used to describe the type of values that have been disrupted by/through socio-economic change. This led me to regard traditional socio-economic action as the psychic attitudinal adaptation, set for daily norms of local life conduct in time and space. But since the historical ideology of Basoga stresses clan social structure, we can now say that these traditional socio-economic beliefs, customs, and values "may" also be referred to as clan-orientated traditionalism in the face of modernisation.

I have in my analysis, therefore, depicted traditional social action to form multiple interests. I have, for instance, examined how cultivation, cattle-hearding, and land law were incorporated in the socio-economic structure: which was originally based on hunting and fishing. Land then became not only a vehicle for prestige distribution, but also a means through which to cement clan principles of organisation, and a resting permanent home for ancestors and/or state founders: as well as clan founders since they were buried there (or at least had their eNkuni there). In relation with these objectives, land acquisition processes were incorporated in the social order with ritualistic elements pertaining to the socio-economic structure strengthening and forming power strategies like political organisation. Thus through such mechanisms the stability and relational prescriptions for one's socio-economic position(s) in society were maintained. Some of these traditional behaviours in social action and practices in

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1) See also Appendix 2.

Soga modernised society are actually still based on the old Soga life-style conditions and clan norms.

The study shows another category of socio-economic structuring based on intermarriage, which established both extensive physical and social relationships; through common language which had evolved. This is what we have called extensive clan and kinship ties: and it is a vital aspect of the socio-economics of traditional society. Enrichment of traditional Soga behaviour is through these intermarriages, mingling together with migrating groups and clans of different totems; and getting exposed to new socio-economic orders, new marriage systems and new ideological elements. This conditioned us to treat values as explanandums, since they are subject to changes that are consequent to changes in the socio-economics of PDC-systems. What followed is an investigation on the basis of socio-economic inequality relations as structured by both traditional and modernised value depictions.

Traditionally structured socio-economics has been analysed in/and through the PDC-systems as what conditioned cultural activities of subsistence agriculture. The analysis revealed those activities to be from family and clan relations up to higher orders. The British-structured socio-economic relations, through cash crop introduction, brought with them differentiations between production, distribution and consumptions. One of the critical results of these differentations was to structure the economics of production, distribution and consumption each separately; in a market which otherwise had always treated the three as interdependent variables in subsistence economy politics. Monetarisation both gained command of goods and services, and began undervaluing familial and clan sanctions that governed the Soga traditional PDC-systems. Also monetarisation introduced in Busoga, for the first time, wage labour migrations (especially in Jinja which is the chief industrial town of Uganda) as opposed to the old migrational patterns related to state-founding. This new pattern of migration differed qualitatively and quantitatively from the old traditional Soga pattern of migrational interactions.

Through family-clan linkages Basoga shared a fairly uniform pattern of beliefs and values which brought about their eventual unity as a tribe. These unifying values can be regarded as normative values and common obligations which are now exposed to conflict situations through modernisation: mainly via formalised school education and the monetarised market economy. The new values dislocate and undermine the old clan linkage relations in the socio-economic structure. People are busy modifying or abandoning the old clan formation patterns, which confuse or shift the old life-style in attempts to catch up with new socio-economic conditions.

As loyalties to the clan gradually became partially or wholly replaced by tribal and national loyalties this in due course, started leading to some new institutional structures meaningful to the clan to start giving way for wider and larger new socio-conomic structures. We may note here that current events in Uganda are actually devolving around this. We have noted how the old traditional Soga family started losing some vitality as a productive and socio-economic security-yielding unit. This is observable in the fact that family ties became more open to non-clan and non-tribal members, with supposedly more economic security being obtained through government and commercial monetarisation (i.e. the so-called educated). But the welfare security that was ensured in the old clan relation system bacame more of a fuzzy issue. Thus my use of the socio-economic structure as being based on the PDC-system defined as the social networks of relationships through which allocation of values is carried out, also explains potential socio-economic differentials.

At a tribal level this is mostly emphasised by Basoga through identification specifying relatives as children to the same womb. Accordingly one cannot marry a consanguine relative, including all paternal and maternal clan relatives (particularly those of the first genera). The socio-economic depictions of these rules are directly linked with bride-wealth, clan alliances, and state foundation in the old Soga society. Basic incorporation of these regulations did however give room to isolation from family members for as long as there are clansmen.

In the hunting and gathering periods, "small" family groups' or clan's socio-economic activities formed PDC-systems with relatively small geographical area limitations: as they could move rather unlimitedly. With beginnings of agricultural activities, they gradually reformed and re-structured the wild geographical regional mould for their different activities. With the migrational waves, state foundation, intermarrigages, clan cleavages and fusions: new circumstances emerged eventually culminating into a Soga economic entity with distinct new cultural trends. The formely simpler PDC-systems and other socio-economic institutions developed towards more complicated ones. Animal husbandry was incorporated in Soga culture from pastoralist elements: thereby forming a wider complex of Soga PDC-systems. This is also from the fact that when the Brisish annexed Busoga to a wider national socio-economic structure, Basoga had already created an independent environtment: readily becoming more dependant on human activity and man-made geographical demarcations geared on clan wealth acquisitions. Cash crop introduction merely subjected socio-economic activities of Basoga to be based on agriculture. Diagram 4 illustrates developments which culminated in a more complex socio-economic structure illustrated via diagram 10. Note that by the stage in diagram 10 Soga socio-economic activities were

now market-orientated; and Busoga had become only a small region with exchange and distributions of commodities in the wider national structure. But via cash-crop and commerce introductions; commodity and service circulations reached intercontinental scales even before spreading within Uganda, and the African continent as a whole.

Technique's development, on the other hand, would consequently have led to socio-economic integration of isolated units with each other: but this seems hardly half-way in Uganda. There exist regional despicable socio-economic distances even within Busoga itself. One major socio-economic factor which comes out clearly even within only Busoga's development, is that even though there has been some good degree of continual outgrowth from small, simple, scattered and isolated PDC-systems into larger more complex, more concentrated and less isolated ones: the development has almost been traditionalised mainly within and/or imitations of modified clan depictions. In my case I have tried to assess Soga PDC-systems' development more from the time of Bakenyhe river-nomads: because they were the first to practice mixed agricultural activities, on which Busoga's economy is based. But it is still possible to allocate socio-economic activities of family, groups, clans, and village hunters belonging to the former wandering hunters and gatherers, and those of the agricultural and "industrialised" periods (via family genealogies).

The clan came out to be considered as a basis on which kinship among Basoga is valued as a socio-economic asset. This is due to it being basically a common descent socio-economic identity, incorporated into society based on a normatively accepted totem: from which traditional values were depicted, controlled, and perpetuated.

The motivational significance of family and clan relations is best comprehendable through examining the psycho-socio importance of religious practices among the old traditional Basoga. The personifying names and the media which Basoga believed housed spiritual mediators (eMisambwa) between themselves and the supernatural power are very important phenomena. These were spread all over different local communities and were used by all clans irrespective of whatever else there was. A critical value dimension in connection with this is the fact that authority delegation hierarchies in religion, state running, and land law followed almost the same structural patterns. This has some support to there being grounded the reason why some clans often preferred to have their own protector media (eMisambwa) in their regions as they wanted to avoid contact with outsiders.

We also noted that some eMisambwa were thought to be the spirits of people who lived on earth and had displayed some supernatural prowess. Apart from eMisambwa representing the

actual "Supernatural power", there were also those directly connected with supposedly real people who lived once upon a time. eMisambwa had more power than eMizimu (GHOSTS) and were often associated with such important forces as birth and marriage, and other inexplicable creations they were supposed to safeguard. An important critique to bear in mind, though, is that Basoga did not worship eMisambwa as such: as these were mere communication media with the "supernatural" power. We also noted how settling Basoga often began with planting the bark-cloth tree (oMugaire gwa Kintu) in dedication to their cultural hero Kintu.

The belief that clan eMisambwa were often living "semi-tame" animals like leopards or certain reptiles; which clansmen fed, has further psycho-socio implications. While Mukama was the mediating protector of Basoga's lives from the vicious Walumbe who at all times advocated and litigated death: there were also protective clan eMisambwa, and it is said homesteads had eMisambwa protecting their graves. Because Basoga believed that the dead's eMizimu remained active in society among the living; and could at any time effect the socio-economic activities of the living: careful tendering was attached to death, burial and the looking after the graves. The eMagombe (graves) of clan-founders, known as eNkuni among Basoga were both real and sometimes significatory: to assign social status of the clan-founder in the active socio-economic activity of living clansmen (his followers). But these eNkuni were also often representative media for the original eMisambwa through which clans communicated with the "supernatural power": where original eMisambwa personifications could not be remembered. Due to this eNkuni were not worshipped as such.

Through religious practices we find a life approved by both the living and dead: and that which is disapproved (i.e. practices of aBalogo). Disapproved socio-economic practices (in the wider context) had approved sanctions in the context of being antisocial. Categoric reference phrases and words to the dead are also hierarchically graded and have significatory tendering by the living. Through the dead, approved religious practices and approved ritualised socio-economic practices, eNsuku and land acquisition became a critical point in Soga life-style.

The actual incorporation of religious practices into Soga social order has been mainly traced through eMizimu and eMisambwa relations to Basoga in family and clan organisational levels. This has been carried out through:

a) different level authority differentation

b) different status personifications of eMisambwa (and eMizimu) in relation to one supernatural power.

c) the social roles of medico-religious professionals in Soga society.

These were carried out merely through the CLAN as a unifying tacit principle of behaviour. The clan related to the discovery of the self (for the individual), identification and formulation of personal identity: through being a guiding principle for conduct.

As Basoga became confronted with different ideological and religious dogmas, the old traditional Soga values started losing some impact in providing clear strategies (i.e. rite de passage) for important changes in the individual's life cycle. For Basoga, as a group, the conventionalised realities accepted by them were (in the old traditional clan depictions) consensuses of individual precepts. But the general structure of thought and action confronted challanges through being exposed to new values. This was why we have looked at traditional social action and socio-economic development through clan relations: since we have been trying to discover, assess, and more less predict Soga behavioural responses. The changes in family life roles, exposure to simultaneous statuses, and awareness of value changes, by Basoga themselves are best comprehended through traditional social order.

In examining the Social order we looked at:

1) the historical development of organisation in Soga Society
2) clan utility in Soga structure organisational construction (i.e. in religion, and land law)
3) different levels of socio-economic activity organisation.

These three media operated on clan depictions to the benefit of strategic interests of Soga social order, related to security and survival.

The differentiations of state management organisation as being different from both PDC-systems's organisation, and socio-economic dominance organisation: was because of the nature of power involved in state-management organisation. In state management organisation ideals of personal and clan glories were often in conflict; due to the political process having very strong familistic rather than public (clan) goals. This led to privatisation of socio-economic means. In PDC-systems' organisation family socio-economic subsistence was developed through cultivation: and the main cultural and socio-economic values were geared to comply with land utility. But socio-economic dominance organisation was through which clan integration normative values and commonly shared obligations were interpreted in terms of solidarity.

In Soga land law, the actual organisation and labour division in production, distribution and consumption activities were issues left to individual family authorities in homesteads. These were closely linked with land utility at patriclan levels. Through customary land law family socio-economic subsistence mainly developed via cultivation. It is clan law depictions which became converted into customary land law. Even then land value has steadily changed to a medium for cashable socio-economic development. The political significance of land as a means for socio-economic mobility in the old and new Soga social orders is multifold: since land has the flexible characteristic of appearing in operational political dominance, in actual organisation of the real or existential economic activities, and in the organisation of the actual and ideal preference alternatives. This is where usufructory land ownership can very easily be confused with, and also substituted for other critical factors in Soga social organisation. In this work land has been treated as a socio-economic asset critical to the stability or instability of Soga social order.

In the Soga economy, cultivation for subsistence still predominates, though it has shifted to include pure cash-crop agriculture (under British influence). Practicing of a market economy has turned a number of food crops to fall under the cash crop category. The most socio-culturally subsistence cultivated plant among Basoga is aMatooke (banana); existing in numerous varieties, just as it is variously used socio-economically. aMatooke and eNsuku in particular have more psycho-socio meanings culturally incorporated in the structure of Soga social order, than can be generally thought from an outsider's point of view. Apart from providing a staple food crop among Basoga oLusuku is the resting place of the dead members of the family and clan: pertaining to the village being called eKyaalo. Dried fibres from banana trunks are used for making mats, ropes, footballs, aMatu (for preserving seeds in); and young green leaves are used to make make-shift umbrellas, eNkata, and eMpombo for decantation, filtrate and cooking purposes. Even dolls for small children used to be made from trunks of bananas: and in addition dried fibres were used in housing construction. Due to eNsuku being so basic in Soga socio-economic life, there are clear ritualised links between connections of the living and the dead in active society via eNsuku.

Cattle is also an important socio-economic asset as it is used as a means to extend the social interaction relations via brid-wealth which cements marriages and inter-clan obligations. There are other domesticated animals and birds too.

The socio-economic relationships that existed between people of different economically orientated regions in Busoga (i.e.

roaming hunters, cultivators and fishers as well as pastoralist elements) are what created the PDC-system we have discussed in this work; and Jinja's industrialisation created migratory labour movements (of different tribal and national elements) resulting in a complex regional PDC-system of Busoga in Uganda. This created new value-structures and disactivated some of the old traditional clan value-pattern depictions.

How these were affected has been the purpose for:

a) Examining whether clan relations fall into cognate groups (which they do in Basoga's case)

b) Analysing the interdependence of clan relations and socio-economic activity.

c) Analysing the dependence of clan depictions (i.e. in Religious Practices) on socio-economic activity (i.e. in Land Law) and vice versa.

The greater emphasis has been placed on practical applications of clan relations in socio-economic activity: rendering how Basoga see themselves in their social hierarchy, which is still largely clan-based.

Appendix 1: Research done on and in Busoga

In this appendix, I try to very briefly reflect on the research which has been carried out on and in Busoga for the period 1940-1976[1]. However, I specifically do not include that work where Busoga is dealt with as part of the national structure (Uganda). I am more interested in works that have "isolated" Busoga as en entity.

The idea here is to try and compare and contrast how much (in terms of specific social scientific fields) the area (Busoga) has been analysed. I have categorised (roughly) the work into eight subjects; abbreviated, but with full names given in the list of abbreviations. The reader should particularly try to note how little (about 23.1 %) of the total research has been done by scholars born within Busoga. This has a strong bearing on the fact that much about Busoga is left unearthed since such researchers could be said to have better access to Soga material: in terms of language, communication, and cultural value-pattern depictions' depths. We can hardly demand from alien researchers such depths since they often have to rely on informers who try to translate (and interprete) materials into standardised acceptable communicable contexts to these researchers. However, much has been done in spite of these difficulties; and I will now simply list the results in table form, show estimated percentages of each subject's researches (of the total work), and try to graph these results to illustrate how much content-worth there is for each category.

YEAR	Researcher	Subject	TITLE
1976	[x]Mudoola, D	P.A	The young Basoga and Abataka Association
1973	[x] "	P.A	The 'Upicification' (U.P.C) of Kyabazingaship
1972	Cohen, D.W	H	The Historical Tradition of Busoga
"	[x]Mudoola, D	H	The Making of the Kyabazinga - Busoga, Uganda
1971_a	Cohen, D.W	H	A survey of inter-lucstrine chronology
" b	"	H	Retracing the Footsteps of Mukama
" c	"	H	The states of Busoga in the 18th and 19th century
" d	"	H	Busoga and its Pattern of Succession

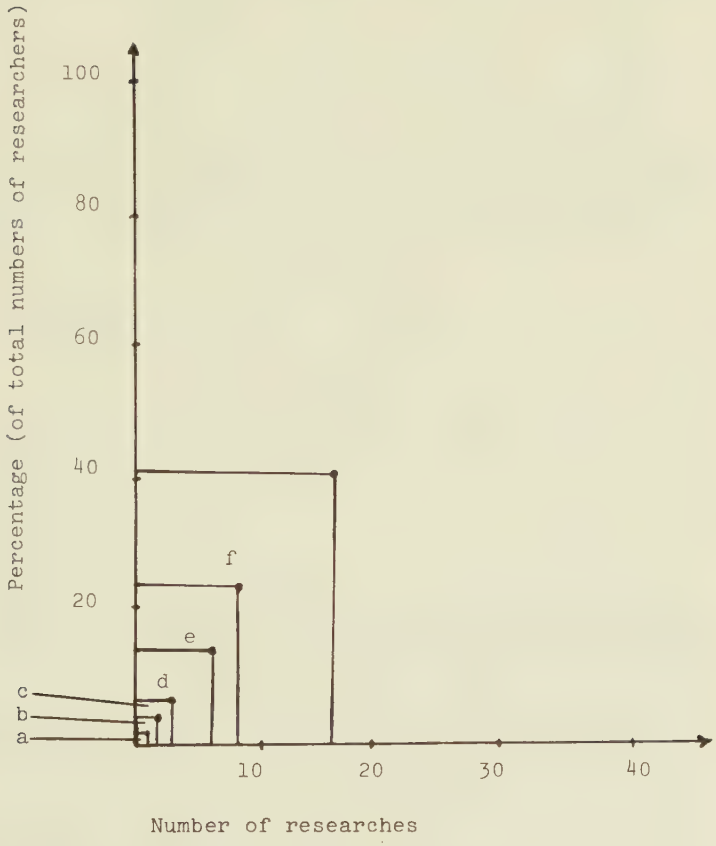
1) It should be noted carefully that here I mean works I personally know about, and I consider being relevant to this work.

YEAR	Researcher	Subject	TITLE
1971	[x]Bakwesegha, J	R.S	A study of religion and related customs in Bugweri county
"	[x]Tuma, A.D.T.	R.S	The Baswezi cult in Busoga
1970	[x]Mudoola, D	P.A	Colonial chief-making: Busoga 1900-1940
1970	[x]Udo, E.A	P.A	The Abaisengobi and their Administrative system in Busoga
1969	Twaddle, M.A	I	(Tribalism in Eastern Uganda)
1967	Mair, L	P.A	Busoga Local Government
"	[x]Nabwiso, W.	P.A	The evolution of the Kyabazingaship
"	Wilson, G	E.A	Owen Falls: Electricity in a Developing Country
1966	Gerken, E	S.E.A.	Identity, status and Prestige
1965	Fallers, L.A	P.A	Bantu Bureaucracy (Revised)
1964	Ogot, B.A	H	The movement of Peoples in East Africa
"	Were, G.S	H	The Westerns Bantu Peoples from A.D 1300 to 1800
1963	Illingworth, J	E.A	Problems of the South Busoga Resettlement Scheme
1962a	Hamsworth, J	E.A	Dynamics in Kisoga Land Tenure
"b	"	E.A	Peasant Agricultural Labour Organisation in 4 selected areas in Eastern Uganda
"	Mair, L	P.A	(Clientship in Eastern Africa)
1960	Fallers, M.J	P.A	The Eastern Interluc-strine Bantu
"	[x]Lubogo, Y.K	H	A History of Busoga
1959	Richards, A.I	P.A	(East African Chiefs)
1956a	Fallers, L.A	P.A	Bantu Bureaucracy (original)
"b	"	S.O.A	Some Determinants of Marriage Stability in Busoga

YEAR	Researcher	Subject	TITLE
1955	Sofer, C & R	U.S	Jinja Transformed
"	" V.C.R	E.A	The Trade of Lake Victoria
1952	Fallers, L.A	P.A	Village chiefs in Busoga
"	Mukwaya & Richards	P.A	The Differences between the Busoga and Buganda system of chiefs
1951_a	Fallers, L.A	P.A	The Power System of Busoga
" b	"	S.O.A	Clan and Lineage in Busoga
1950	"	P.A	Busoga Field Work
1940	Robertson, D.	E.A	The historical considerations contributing to Soga Land Tenure
Undated	Fallers, L.A	S.O.A	Traditional and Modern Institutions and Roles in Busoga
"	"	I	Nationalism in Uganda

Subject	Number of researches	Estimated Percentage (of total number of researches)
P.A	15	$\frac{15}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 38.46\ \%$
H	9	$\frac{9}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 23.07\ \%$
E.A	6	$\frac{6}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 15.38\ \%$
R.S	2	$\frac{2}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 5.13\ \%$
S.O.A	3	$\frac{3}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 7.69\ \%$
S.E.A	1	$\frac{1}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 2.56\ \%$
U.S	1	$\frac{1}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 2.56\ \%$
I	2	$\frac{2}{39} \times 100 \rightarrow 5.13\ \%$
	(39)	(99.98)

Graph to illustrate Research Progress in Busoga: 1940-1976



a = US + S.E.A
b = I + R.S
c = S.O.A
d = E.A
e = H
f = P.A

Appendix 2: Interactional Levels Combination Analysis[1)++]

Table 4. Possible interactional levels combinations (derived from Diagram 5)

I	II	III	IV
FCTN	FCTN	FCTN	FCTN
FCT	FCT	FCT	FTN
FCN	FCN	FTN	FCN
FT	CT	CT	FN
FTN	CTN	CTN	CTN
FN	CN	FT	CN
FC	CF	TN	NT
+ F	C	T	N

Note that F, C, T, N have each a maximal Interactional Levels Combination (ILC) of 6: giving us a sum total of 24 full ILC's (refer to page 44).

But F = 7 ILC, C = 7 ILC, T = 7 ILC, N = 7 ILC.

Their total ILC = (7x4) or (7+7'7+7) = 28 ILC.

Since each of them alone has a frequency of 17 in appearing among the 24 ILC; we thus have 17 F, 17 C, 17 T, and 17 N frequencies.

To reflect on how high or low reliance on clan depictions in ILC formation was: as opposed to reliance on national depictions, we can examine the frequency ratio (FR) of N against frequency ratios of F, C, and T.

$$\text{FR for F} = \frac{17N}{17F + 17C} = \frac{17}{34} = 0{,}5$$

F and C are summed up because F cannot exist without C just as C exists because of F among Basoga (ref. Ch. 2).

$$\text{FR for C} = \frac{17N}{17F + 17C + 17T} = \frac{17}{51} = 0{,}3$$

F, C, and T are summed up here (for Basoga) because to have both F and T there has to be C since it is a "one people society", with same culture and language. If it were otherwise a conglomeration of more than one TRIBE, to create an

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1)++ Here, I try to introduce crucial Soga mental operative structures representing information; and how these are worked upon within their socio-economic structure.

"administrative tribe" (i.e. Karamoja in Uganda) then a Peoples Differential Factor (P_{df}) would have to be introduced like:

$$\frac{17N}{17F + 17C + 17T} - P_{df} = 0,3 - P_{df}$$

Actually, even in the case of Basoga we have to account for Old State Origin Differences as a Differential Factor (ODF).

$$\text{FR for T (in Busoga)} = \frac{17N}{17F + 17C + 17T} - ODF = 0,3 - ODF$$

Due to very strong C linkages among different Soga states, via marriage and kinship relations: we can safely take ODF as a "Conflict Value" liable to increase or decrease relative to existing situational affairs. The value estimates we have had for F, C, and T can be called "Valuational Strength Estimates" (VSE).

FVSE = 0,5

CVSE = 0,3

TVSE = 0,3 - ODF.

To compute Basoga's NVSE we have to compute 17N against the sum-total of FVSE, CVSE, and TVSE: and then account for Tribal Differences (T_d) among the tribes making up Uganda as a nation.

$$NVSE = \frac{17N}{0,5+0,3+0,3-ODF} = T_d = \frac{17}{1,1 - ODF} - T_d.$$

The ODF value gets further complicated by T_d value since some tribes are closely related in culture and language while others are very distantly related. Both ODF and T_d on the VSE's of different tribes in Uganda, as well as P_{df} in some cases, decrease NVSE even further compared to those of F, C, and T. How to estimate ODF, P_{df}, and T_d is not treated here.

Now to really test the Valuational Significance (VS_e) of the different VSE value estimates, we have to compute them against the total ILC.

Thus for F the $VS_e = \frac{0,5}{28}$ 0,02

for C the $VS_e = \frac{0,3}{28}$ 0,01

for T the $VS_e = \frac{0,3 - ODF}{28}$

for N the $VS_e = \frac{17}{\frac{1,1 - ODF}{28}} - T_d = \frac{17-T_d(1,1-ODF)}{28(1,1 - ODF)}$

That FVS_e is strongest of all, and then followed in decreasing order by CVS_e, TVS_e, and NVS_e confers with the preference alternatives I-IV (Diagram 5.). Even though FVS_e is double CVS_e, the close interdependence of C and F (ref Chap 2)that qualified the family as the most relevant cohesion unit: while the clan was the most relevant solidary unit, made Basoga have no better view of their traditional society other than in terms of clan depictions. This persists up to now, creating regular ambivalent confrontations between TVS_e and FVS_e on one hand; and FVS_e vs TVS_e and NVS_e on the other. Some politicians consolidated their status quo through manipulating clan socio-economic relations: even at the expense of national resources. In turn, Jinja's industrialisation led to urban dwellers having two socio-economic worlds, one in modernised centres and the other in old traditional rural areas: as they remained (up to now) with very strong clan ties in both sectors. This alone is a critical factor (among others) which makes urban vs rural socio-economic studies in clan-based societies (i.e. Busoga) assume special features whose delineation must be tested on CVS_e backgrounds as a result.

This test can critically be used to evaluate both socio-economic researches concerned with development problems: and any development planning schemes (or programmes) that exist in many an underdeveloped country. This is when one would have to introduce the 4 pure preference alternatives, in computations (Diagram 5.). Besides it also has other useful utilities like being directly applicable in social psychological studies too. Just what makes this test critical (from my point of view) is that it somehow negates a rationalist point of view (according to western educational logic) where one would expect combination FCTN to be the most frequent and highly valued ILC pattern; since it features in all combinations of F, C, T, and N (i.e. with maximal full ILC frequency of 4). But in reality this is far from the truth: as it stands distinctly out in the field that FCTN is the most conflictful and not so favoured ILC. This has direct connection with how Soga social reality was viewed.

Most of Soga social reality was viewed in terms of clan relations. The different loyalities formed (Diagram 5) in terms of preference alternatives had very strong FC base linkages, differently utilised according to prevailing situational demands which may or may not have introduced new social realities. Through FC linkages Basoga shared a fairly uniform pattern of beliefs and values: and their eventual unity as a tribe depended mostly on conditions of similarity of normative values and common obligations. But, the conflict situations they became exposed to, through education and the monetarised market economy, were precisely based on the dislocation and undermining of old FC linkage relations in the socio-economic structure. People became busy modifying or abandoning the old ILC formation patterns: with confused and/or uncertain shifts in life-style, to try to catch up with new socio-economic conditions. The valuational significances of these changes are manifested through Basoga's behaviours.

With reference to Appendix 3, specified attention should be directed to how values are generally treated in this work.

Estimates of socio-economic changes, in the old and modernised traditional social orders can be made; compared, and utilized to predict "different" types of transitional trends. In these comparisons remarkably simple but basic relationships (in utility of FVSe, CVSe, TVSe and NVSe) are found: and are directly linked to Local Life Conduct Adaptations.

If people are socio-economically deprived and certain taps on their Valuational Significance (VSe) occassionally produced socio-economic advancement, their rate of tapping on VSe is near a constant fraction of the rate at which socio-economic reinforcements are obtained by tapping FVSe, CVSe, TVSe and NVSe.

If:

T_o = Traditional and M = Modernised

P_{To} = rate of tapping any of FVS_e, CVS_e, TVS_e and NVS_e (i.e. in land uvility)

P_M = rate of tapping modernised venues for socio-economic advancement (i.e. education)

P_{To} = rate of reinforcement obtained by tapping T_o (i.e. socio-economic security)

R_M = rate of reinforcement obtained by tapping M (i.e. menetary gains)

Then $$\frac{P_{To}}{R_{To}} = \frac{P_M}{R_M} \quad - - - - - - - - - - - - - - (1)$$

No matter how many types of To (i.e. tribal variations) there are in the national social order, the equation above holds for any pair of T_o and M. Here we estimate that each tap has the same duration (without knowing what the duration is), and the relative rate of tapping equals the relative time spent tapping.

Thus equation (1) says that a person distributes his/her time tapping T_o or M in proportion to the rate at which reinforcement is produced by tapping either T_o or M. The total reinforcement may come from many individual presentations of socio-economic gains or a few large socio-economic gains presentations. What counts is the overall rate of delivery.

Generally, we can say that an individual distributes his time among several socio-economic ILC's in proportion to the rewards to be derived from engaging in those activities. If this generalisation holds, we may turn back to WPS in the old traditional social order (T_o WPS), where the activities of an individual Musoga were more concerned with tapping or not tapping CVS_e in his socio-economic ILC's.

If:

U = time not spent tapping CVS_e which we may loosely call USELESS TIME, here ("U")

R_u = any reward (or gain) involved in not tapping CVS_e

Then:

$$\frac{P_{To}}{R_{To}} = \frac{U}{R_u} \quad - - - - - - - - - - - - (2)$$

Logically this is another way of stating the same thing as:

$$\frac{P_{To}}{P_{To} + U} = \frac{R_{To}}{R_{To} + R_u} \quad - - - - - - (3)$$

Notice that as opposed to the two-tailed situation of equation (1), we have no way of measuring U and R_u; but we can take it that R_u is constant for a given situation and a given person, and, because P_{To} + U exhausts whatever an individual can do with either T_o or M, this sum can be estimated to equal a constant. Thus:

$$P_{To} = \frac{(P_{To} + Y)\, R_{To}}{R_{To} + (R_u)} \quad - - - - - - - - - - - - (4)$$

Where bracked items are constants.

Equation (4) makes a prediction that can be tested. It predicts a certain relationship between the rate of socio-economic activity and the reinforcement of that socio-economic actitity, holding all other reinforcement constant. This prediction is, of course, governed by local national economic structure: and governed at large by whatever political circumstances may prevail at the time of the prediction.

Utilised differently, this prediction opens up a number of possibilities with a fairly good amount of certainty; where people can almost be practically "shaped" (conditioned) to desired goals in marketing, political participation, education, and the wider socio-economic transition. But this can only succeed within certain local cultural prescription.

In direct relation to these prediction possibilities, it should be also noted that Interactional Levels Combination Analysis is but a practical step, meant to aid us in understanding

1) Membership Regions in Soga social order

2) Major internal clan boundaries governing Leadership and Membership within Busoga as a society.

These can (and do) facilitate us with a deeper and more detailed analysis of how the different external environments Basoga have been exposed to, historically, have affected Soga PDC-systems' development.

To penetrate the effects of value change forces involved in the PDC-systems we have to give extra attention to the actual exchanges (transactions) of goods and services.

Heller (1972:11) gives a brief outline of the economic system through a conceptual scheme like:

Table 5. The economic system (Heller, 1966:11)

	(1) Household sector	(2) Production sector	(3) Governmental sector	(4) Foreign sector
Individual units	The Consumption Decision	The Production Decision	Public Goods and Services	Exports and Imports
Aggregates	Aggregate Consumption	Aggregate Investment	Stabilisation policy	Balance of Payments

Note

The vertical columns show the various sectors of the economy, while the rows depict the level of analysis.

He suggests that when analysing each sector, we may adapt a microeconomic or a macroeonomic view. He says that in microeocnomics we focus attention on the decisions and actions of individual economic units. In macroeconomics we deal with the aggregate manifestations of the behaviour of the individual units. His conceptual scheme is meant to be useful in clarifying the relationship between various parts.

In my case, since I am treating the economy in terms of PDC-systems, I will tabulate the national economic system like in table 2: to categorically account for both the old Soga traditional and modernised PDC-systems.

Table 6. The National Economic System

	Individual (1)	Family (2)	Household (3)	Village (4)	Clan (5)	Tribe (6)	Region (7)	Government Sector (8)	Public Sector (9)	Individual Firm (10)	Private Sector (11)	Foreign Sector (12)
P	CB	CH	CH	CB	CB	CB	CB	SP & CB	CB	LCP	LCB	Exp & Imp
D	WC & CB	WC & CB	WC & CB	WC & CB	WC & CB	WC & CB	WC & CB	PG & S	WC & CB	HIR	π max	B of P
C	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	SP	CC	π max	π max	Exp & Imp

Key to abbreviations:

CB = Cost Benefit
CC = Consumer Conditions
LCB = Low Cost Benefits
LCP = Low Cost Production
Exp & Imp = Export & Import
WC = Welfare Conditions
PG & S = Public Goods and Services
HRI = High Returns Investment
π max = Profit Maximisation
B of P = Balance of Payments
SP = Stabilisation Policy

Main Components of Decision

The columns (Table 6.) show the various sectors affected (in PDC-systems) of the economy, while the rows depict the levels of decision analysis. This basic layout permits us to deal with the socio-economic actions and interactions of people, represented in the twelve columns, and considered in terms of P, D and C rows. More to this is that we are also able to make basic differentiations between underdeveloped and developed countries, on the one hand: and socialist and capitalistic economies, on the other, just by carefully examining which (Row + Column) combinations, in the table, are commonly practiced in various countries. Thus it becomes rather simplified to anticipate (or estimate) which directions of development a country is drifting towards. Let us very briefly reflect on these differential criteria, to enable us to locate where Busoga falls in Uganda: and where Uganda falls both in East Africa and the international socio-economic structure. This can be done (estimated) by systematically arranging the "general patterns" of socio-economic activity in these countries like:

1. Busoga

a. old traditional society	b. modernised society
P: 1, 2, 3, (4), 5	P: 1, 2, 3, (4), (5), (6), 8, 10, (12)
D: 1, 2, 3, 5	D: 1, 2, 3, (5), (8)
D: 1, 2, 3, 5	C: 1, 2, 3, (5), 8

4 is bracketed in a. because it effectively could occur only where the village was homogeneous: being composed of only clansmen. All bracketed cell numbers otherwise mean existence of delicate, tenuous, and often asymmetrical vertical interactions.

2. East Africa

a. Uganda

P: 1, 2, 3, (4), (5), (6), 8, 10, (12)
D: 1, 2, 3, (5), (6), 8, 10, (12)
C: 1, 2, 3, (5), (6), 8, 10, (12)

b. Kenya

P: 1, 2, 3, (4), (5), (6), 8, 10, (12)
D: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, (12)
C: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12

c. Tanzania

P: 1, 2, 3, (4), (5), (6), 8, 10, (11), (12)
D: 1, 2, 3, (4), (5), (6), 8, (9), 10, (11), (12)
C: 1, 2, 3, (4), (5), (6), 8, (9), 10, (11), (12)

Things to observe in a-c are that whereas Uganda and Tanzania have 5 and 6 bracketed, Kenya has "openly" instituted it in the national matrix. Although 4 is bracketed for Kenya and Tanzania in D and C, in Kenya it has emerged through self-help projects (HARAMBEE) whereas in Tanzania it has been partly officially instituted through some government projects, trying to cover all levels of P, D, and C. Uganda has 4 only in P and this is via cooperative movements. All of them (a-c) show lack of proper considerations for cells (P 9, P 10, P 11, and P 12), (D 9, D 10, D 11, and D 12), and (C 9, C 10, C 11, and C 12). Only Tanzania has begun to show rubrics of concern for the Public vis a vis Private sectors. Regional planning still is not valued very much in development plans as it should be: though all claim concern through Regional Administration. More can be said on the patterns reflected upon, why some cell numbers are not included etc, but we can spare time on that till later. For comparative purposes let us also show the general patterns in developed countries:

General patterns in developed countries

a. Capitalists

P: 1, 2, 3, (8), 10, 11, 12

D: 1, 2, 3, (7), 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

C: 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, 12

b. Socialists

P: 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

D: 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

C: 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

In cases of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania the public sector needs extra special attention since it mostly consists of a majority of people who have gained relatively little through socio-economic development: in terms of cost-benefit values. The layout of the economic system in Table 1. also facilitates us with penetrating the national PDC-system, of Uganda, without detailed descriptions of each of the tribal and regional PDC-systems: yet without underrating their contributory effects. It is, thus, only necessary to go into detailed descriptions of the Soga tribal PDC-system: to compare and contrast traditional and modernised values. It should be stressed, however, that an adequate understanding of the national economic system is only comprehendable after understanding the national social structure.

Let us now identify the cells (in Table 6.) that represent fields through which education has restructured socio-economic value-patterns directly in conflict with traditional values. For the moment I make these out to be:

P: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, (7), 8, 9, 12

D: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, (7), 8, 9

D: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, (7), 8, 9, 12

By now it should have been apparent to the reader that certain characteristics have outstandingly featured in the old traditonal Soga society, the modernised Soga society, the three East African cases, and the general patterns in developed countries. It appears as if there was a universality of 1, 2, and 3 repeatedly occuring. What does this mean? Apart form the obvious, that all societies have idividuals, families, and households: there is more to it. First and foremost is an apparent implication that the family must be the basic social unit. But more to it is what entices family composition's social depictions for recruitment and perpetuation. In Busoga and the East African cases we have 5 repeatedly occuring: pointing out that the clan still forms a deeprooted core in social interaction. Indeed the Busoga case reveals that on clan depictions (as will be furfurther extended) rested most socio-economic activity, even though this is being broken through. But then what about cases in the developed countries?

Among the developed countries, it is actually a fact that in the less developed countries like Greece, south Italy, Spain, Turkey, and most slavic countries there still exist stringent clan principles of society up to now. But in the more developed countries like Sweden, Switzerland, Germany and Denmark there are break-through developments which permit marriages between cousins (usually second cousins) though with noticeable strains: but still with strong clan relational depictions concerning parents and children, siblings, and grandparents. The outcome of all this leads us to inquiringly set forth one tentative proposition whose tenability is yet to be investigated:

> "The less socio-economically developed a society is the more it tends to rely on clan depictions for social activity."

This proposition seems to have an insight into some criteria necessary to differentiate developed from underdeveloped societies. Also proper investigation into this proposition might reveal why gross failures have been met by international organisations and private bodies, in providing proper development aid. Perhaps the proposition might be even tougher to prove in view of the fact that Greece which once in the past thrived in civilisation is now among the less developed countries in Europe.

However, there is a basic caution to be taken into account in treating this proposition. Distinction should be made between socio-economic development and technological de-

velopment. In its simplest form, technological development is the mechanisation of human socio-economic activity. Socio-economic development, on the other hand, goes beyond mere technological development, to include conscious planning for better welfare conditions, and consumer conditions at all levels of society: considered in terms of cost benefits impinging on social and private costs. Treated this way, this simple but critical proposition (at least most so in East Africa - which I am well acquainted with) points out that we can hardly expect to reach satisfactory socio-economic studies in most underdeveloped countries which display clan relations if we do not examine very carefully clan significance in these societies. It does not quite matter (to reality in these countries) how well-structured explanatory theories may be for as long as they do not break through this basic barrier they will continue living apart from socio-economic realities in these societies. What is even more of a complication is the fact that we have to clearly relate the close interdependences of Production, Distribution, and Consumption in these societies: and stop dreaming of explaining or investigating each one of them separately as if they existed free from each other. Let us now very briefly reflect on consumption conditions in Busoga.

As aggregate consumption is mainly a function of personal income, it is more accurate to say that in Busoga (and Uganda) whereas the marginal propensity to consume has greatly increased for all groups: only the privileged groups (socio-economically) in society have exploitatively benefited in coping with this demand in terms of purchasing power for goods and services. The rest of society is paralysed by inflation and monetary and financial credits. All groups inclusive have marginal propensities to save way below their marginal propensities to consume, in terms of opportunity and cost benefit considerations. The inflated rates of interest and borrowing costs have greatly curtailed new innovations to investment activities: as the fiscal and monetary policies of the country have not quite stabilised the country's economy. The very high fluctuations of prices and wages, in terms of cost-benefit analysis, have increased national deficits and government expenditure is very highly questionable in terms of resource allocation. All this points to THREE basic questions:

1. Are choices made in accordance with tradition: and if so whose tradition?
2. Are choices made by the people themselves, local administrations, or the national administration?
3. Are choices made in the market or behind closed and isolated bars?

However, the basic struggle is how consumers try to maximise their satisfactions, subject to income and other more complex socio-economic constraints. This means that we have to examine more closely their operative levels of socio-economic action: to compare and contrast (in details) what they were like and what they were based on (in the old Soga life-style value-pattern depictions); and what they are now and what they are based on (in the so-called modernised life-style value-pattern depictions).

Appendix 3: The value-factor in socio-economic change

In this work, my focus is upon values as they are dealt with in everyday life situations. This therefore means in the first instance that the treatment of values in this work concentrates upon "values" in the pluralistic way that we deal with them in everyday situations by means of resources afforded by ordinary language. I do not deal with values under a general unified theory of value. I use value both as a criterion for ACTION (at all levels) and also as a criterion for social analysis. It should be noted, however, that I do certainly fluctuate to and fro between the pluralistic use of value to specificatory implications of particularised values. This is done through according value as whatever has a quality of being useful or desirable: more so when compared with something else. The differences in degrees of intensity as to the usefulness or desirability offer us both positive and negative values. As a crude standard measure of value (in this work) we can simply approximate to what is socially instituted as true or false, valid or invalid. What is important is the common features of all value phenomena.

All values contain some cognitive elements, have a selective quality, and involve some affective component. Values serve as criteria for selection in action. When most explicit and fully conceptualised, values become criteria for judgement, preference and choice. When implicit and unreflective, values perform as if they constituted grounds for decisions in behaviour. Purposive actions (which form the "main" in this work) fall within the boundaries of evaluative action: and within these we need to carefully look at:

1) cannotative - i.e. desire, liking
2) achievement - i.e. success vs frustration
3) affective - i.e. pleasure vs unpleasantness

Empirically, in human behaviour, values arise out of human experience and may be affected by any conditions (including socio-economic conditions) that affect experience. This work concentrates on effects of different PDC-systems' experiences on Basoga in their style of life. In my work PDC-systems are valued according to communication potential (in terms of money and purchasing power, language, social and geographical distance, and transport). I treat consumption, distribution, production and communication as interdependent variables in the social system. Thus consumption of a particular good or service has differentials in the population living in the same social system due to income, distribution of that particular good in the social system, production of that good (whether it is produced locally or not) and the communication patterns in the society: relative to the marketing of that good, tastes, influence and the mobility of that particular good's consumers. In all, these are utilised

resources[1] of labour, enterpreneural skills, capital, social influence, interpersonal relations etc. - all warranting an immediate situational adaptation to facilitate optimal benefits to interested individuals or groups. Each of these has and represents values. Hence we do not only reckon with balancing value produced and value expended: but also with value-mediating factors that lead to the association or disassociation of some institutions in society: rendering it possible to see what society is, what is, was, and possibly what it will be.

In this work, priority is particularly given to four types of value:

1) Social value - which is recognition accorded to and by the people to actions, notions, theories, goods and services: to matters tangible or intangible.

2) Ethical value - which rests upon moral, ritualistic and religious rules, and customs of a society. This is concerned with principles, attitudes, and actions of individuals or groups. Most of us are aware of the relative position of our principles and actions, or the ethical value scale of the society we live in.

3) Economic value - which has to do with the relative satisfactions that individuals and groups obtain from their PDC-system services due to their choice-preferences.

4) Existance value - which I will spell our as a concept concerning criteria on which organisms and objects (individuals, components or systems) are brought into being and survival.

I prefer to outline "Existence Value" as having seven major components relevant to the type of analysis I utilise in studying socio-economic and traditional value changes in Busoga. These components are relative to what this work really is about; and they do not exhaust all there is to existance value: and each of them is wide and qualified enough to demand a separate study in its entity. The reason for all these components being so aggregated is because of what they have become in developing and underdeveloped

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1) What is implied by resources here includes, among other things, the tangible and intangible economic, political, ideological and material resources.

countries. The seven components of Existence Value (in this context) are:

++	1) social	in relation to the socio-economic achievements, strategies and viability of individuals and groups.
+	2) cultural	
++	3) economic	
	4) political	
+	5) communicational	
	6) military	
++	7) psychological	

Out of these components, 1), 3), and 7) are covered in as much detail as possible: relevant to the subject-content of this work. Components 2) and 5) are also covered, but not quite so detailed as the first group due to the ambitions of this work. Components 4) and 6) are delibarately avoided (directly) because the Uganda National Research Council simply did not encourage research work carried out on them during the time of my field work (1972-1973).

It should be noted, at this instance, that component 7) is the most complex of them all as it is subject to forces and elements from the other six.

The significance of introducing existance value (with this crude type of definition) in my work is that this value is crucial to the practical way of getting as close as possible to reality of the people studied. It is this value on which daily life is built in all societies. It is mainly this value on which civilisational and societal differentiations are made and based. It is on this value technologies and organisations are constructed, improved and/or abandoned. It is on this value that conflict and peace situations are rotating. It is on this value that traditional and modern life-patterns are depicted: relative to environmental and situational demands in any society in time and space. It is mainly on this value that personalities are based, built and differentiated. It is through the utility of this value that personal and social psychological states are generated. It is on this value that socio-economic strategies and manoeauvres are planned and forecasted (a turning point in this work). Thus, explicitly or implicitly, EXISTENCE VALUE incorporates very strong elements (if not all) of the aforementioned three values.

The crucial relationships between and among the four values we have outlined is in the appropriation of control of the PDC-systems' values; in the inplantation of the social and ethical values; in individuals and societies.

All values (including those given priority in this work) have basic characteristic scales, and in more or less complicated ways, gradations of desirability are established relative to a standard or set standards. In fact values are dependent on time flow. Conditions and attitudes change:

and changes may severely influence the relative standing of specific values. Anticipations and expectations about future conditions significantly influence present value judgements, since we tend to determine the desirability of any given value by the expectation of future beneficial derivatives.

Hence, due to the time-dimension, we differentiate between present, past and future values with regard to the point of measurement[1]. We must take this further to incorporate short and long runs, on the one hand, and risk and uncertainty, on the other. Thus future expectation reliability is an important factor in decision-making. The nature of values we are dealing with in this work calls for specificity in addition: with regard to particularised issues. This is because they are usually embedded in verbal, actional, constructional and situational contexts: each of them involving different variations of relations, structure, logistics, or social behaviour. Hence, values mostly appear as variables in systems of personality, society as well as culture: this making them and value-systems conveyors of great significance. They therefore play an important role in ethnic, tribal and national social systems: more so with respect to integration and socio-economic advancement. When considering integration we do not account only for value integrations of foreign values (i.e. from the British) and local values: but also we must account for the diversity of heterogeneous local situational values (in Uganda) respective to each tribe and new big town and urban communities. Thus the different values standards in this case are based on local cultural systems, with each individual subjected to a respective background of traditional value patterns. Since most socio-economic roles are (in Uganda) played by those who create, interprete and enforce rules that are binding on members of the socio-economic system: and these very same people do belong to some local community somewhere, there are conflicts in and out of the socio-economic impact that Uganda has been subjected to since the introduction of education and the money economy.

About the determination of value I will directly quote Rescher (1969:3-4).

"Subscription to a value is consequently a two-sided affair, and value imputations have a double aspect: both verbal and behavioural. When we impute to the person N subscription to the value x, we underwrite the grounds for expecting from N a reasonable degree of conformity with the characteristic manifestation patterns of subscription to x both in discourse and in action.

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1) Measurement of values is not discussed in detail here due to the nature of the main theme in the work.

We thus impute a value to someone to characterise his vision of 'the good life' or at any rate his vision of how life ought appropriately to be lived - be this in his judgement 'for the good' or not, in some more fundamental sense of the term. 'His vision' indicates that we are concerned with how he looks at the matter; 'how life is to be led' indicates that we are concerned with conduct (action). His way of looking at the matter would be expected to manifest itself - at any rate under ordinary circumstances - by his dispositions to talk (to approve, disapprove, recommend, encourage etc.). Moreover, his view of how life is to be led would generally be expected to manifest itself - again, under ordinary circumstances - by his dispositions to act, by the things he does and the ways in which he chooses to expend his resources of time, energy etc."

These considerations open up two major avenues of approach to the analysis of the value pattern of a person or a society.

Inquiry can be shaped in which ways values manifest themselves: and since value have dual aspects in manifesting, both in talk and action, we can seek value determination from either of these directions:

1) On the side of behaviour we need to scrutinise patterns of resource investment. Resource here is broad including more than material resources, to include toleration for inconveniences, energy expenditures.

2) On the side of talk, we need to investigate content analysis (refer to how I go into Lusoga semantics).

Of the two 1) assumes a much more dominant role in this work: though, like all other techniques of empirical investigation, these two are not devoid of limitations.

Directly related to how I use "structure" in this work: values are "properties" of the mind having to do with the vision people have of "the good life" for themselves and their fellows. People's values represent factors of role in people's welfare: and values manifest themselves concretely in the ways we talk, act and in time expenditure patterns and choice preferences. This is a relevance that makes values function both as constraints and stimuli. But although our starting point is that of values as pluralistically conceived in everyday life: greater precision forced us to introduce special terminology of more than ordinary exactness; and make various refinements for special purposes. The rationale behind treating values as met with in daily life is their overt role in rationlisation of action in common life language. Value fabrics are woven in the thought-content structures people entertain about their actions within the structure of their view of the good life. Values are ubiquitous in human affairs, as

people tend to plan some fundamental actions (by comparing alternatives) and judge their actions as well as those of others. What is critical in this work is that it is seemingly difficult to cenceive people who "reject values as such" though the idea of people (or individuals) who "reject" values of their society (i.e. rejection of specific values) is perhaps readily accepted when we talk of Ugandans acquiring European values in their "modernised" common day to day life pattern. At the "object level" of value talk I confine to common-life language: while at the "meta-level" of talk about values I have attempted to introduce some technical terminology conducive to interests of precision, clarity and concision.

To individuals as well as groups I propose to characterise as a subscriber to a value, when they subscribe to have, hold, accept and adhere to that value (i.e. moslems do not eat pig but protestants do). It is therefore important to distinguish between:

1) Subscribing to (generic) values on the one hand and making (specific) evaluations on the other.

2) A person's actual subscription to a value (evaluation) on one hand, and his ascription of a value (or an evaluation) to someone else.

In 2), to subscribe to values and make evaluations is to assume positions that are value-commital; whereas an ascription of a value is "value-neutral" on the part of one who ascribes though not the ascribee. Thus if I say that traditional rulers defied the policies introduced by "independence political rulers" because they undermined benefits in the traditional patterns of organisation; I do not take a stand on the merits or demerits of either the policy or the value of self-interestedness. Whenever something is held to be of value (i.e. introduction of cash crops in Uganda), there is always somewhere on the sidelines a value with respect to which this introduction is prised. The cultivation of cash crops in Uganda (i.e. cotton, coffee, sugar) is presumably valued because it conduced either to profits or financial security: but not necessarily to comfort or nourishment. Thus the actual exposition of an evaluation will have to include at least:

1) the value object being evaluated
2) the locus of value (i.e. one's socio-economic advancement through cash-crop cultivation)
3) the underlying values that are at issue (i.e. wealth and financial security).

Thus the locus of value is the particularising factor intervening in an evaluation between an abstract value, and the value object (concrete thing under consideration). But it should be noted that there is no coherent classification

at this level of generality as the value object may be a variety of things (i.e. people's actions, policies etc.). A person can therefore value almost anything: but within limited loci of values; even though values proper (i.e. craftmanship as such) are probably more remote, abstract, and ideological.

Partially because I reason that every value corresponds to a possible state of affairs or condition of society which represents its state of full or substantial realisation: I would like to cannote values as representing capabilities of providing the realisation of action by encapsulating a positive attitude towards a purportedly beneficial state of affairs (Rescher, 1969:9). Rescher (1969:10) says that no sharp line of separation can be drawn between statements of value and statements of fact: value theses are always shot through with factual considerations. The view here is that values are founded upon a vision of how life ought to be lived. The quality of life sorts that they facilitate becomes the arbiter of values. Perfectly objective standards are operative here, revolving about the concept of human welfare: health, security, freedom of action etc. The important aspect of the "ideological" nature of values (Rescher, 1969:11) is that their standing is interpersonal and in this sense impersonal: value grounding considerations are not respecters of persons. This implies that something cannot be a value for one person and fail to be a value for another (though it can, obviously, be valued by one and not the other, or be of value to one person and not to another).

I adapt Rescher's (Rationalisation of action, 1969:11) that the principal role of values resides in the rationalisation of action. The rationalisation of action can be viewed from three perspectives:

1) The first-person perspective of deliberation and decision making in the context of the question: What am I (are we) to do?

2) The second-person perspective of advising and counseling in the context of the question: What are you to do?

3) The third-person perspective of the justification and critique of action: What are the merits (demerits) of what Y is doing (has done)?

Thus, (Rescher, 1969:12), the fundamental role of a person's value is to underwrite the evaluation of his actions.

Value has many dimensions and value classification can be approached from many sides: with different principles of classification being associated with various angles of approach. In this work I consider it useful to consider values on six classificatory principles (according to Rescher, 1969:13-19).

1) Subscripership to the value - value held or that ought to be held (i.e. by a person, group) when particularised.

2) Object at issue - evaluated with reference to a certain valued characteristic.

This category includes, among others:

a) thing values - i.e. speed in cars
b) environmental values - i.e. landscape beauty
c) personal values - i.e. intelligence
d) group values - i.e. mutual trust
e) societal values - i.e. economic justice

It is important to note here that in e) we talk of societal values: meaning desirable features of arrangements in the society. This is not quite the same thing as "social value".

3) nature of benefit at issue - that which ensures the realisation of the value.

This has (Rescher, 1969:16) ten categories

\+ a) material and physical (i.e. health, comfort)
\+ b) economic (i.e. economic security)
++ c) moral (i.e. honesty)
\+ d) social (i.e. courtesy)
++ e) political (i.e. justice)
++ f) aesthetic (i.e. symetry)
g) religious (i.e. clearness of conscience)
\+ h) intellectual (i.e. intelligence)
\+ i) professional (i.e. professional recognition and sucess)
j) sentimental (i.e. acceptance)

Of the ten categories, the ones with stars on are of seminal importance to this work. I have explained why e) is largely left out in this work, earlier. Based on the same sort of reasoning, I explicitly defined "EXISTENCE VALUE" in the way outlined earlier on; though certainly full of a number of inadequeces.

4) purpose at issue - respective to a specific type of purpose served by realisation of the valued state of affairs (i.e. medical or nutritional values).

5) relationship between the subscriber and beneficiary - being looked at in categories of "self" and "other" orientations.

6) relationship the value bears to other values - accounting for values which are considered as being subordinate to others; and those considered self-sufficient (or intrisic).

These value-dimentions are brought into this work because values play important roles in behaviour explanation: and for conflict to occur between parties there has to be values devergence. Although there are no doubt many ways or modes of explaining behaviour in specific relations to values, this work can be said to be primate in that it seeks to explain behaviour in terms of:

1) causes

2) motives (or reasons)

Actually explanation in terms of motives involves an explicit reference to specific (goal-orientated) considerations the party has in mind in connection with his actions. When we impute a value to someone we underwrite the expectation that its espousal will manifest itself in practice as well as in thought. It should be also noted that the connection between values and goals is not straightforward: and that values are related to action in categorically different ways that vary with the nature of the thing valued. So in giving a value-orientated explanation of behaviour, we tend to fit the action at issue in such a way that, through the ideal type at issue the rough sketch of an explanatory account can be discerned. Rescher (1969:28) notes that "it is clear that in the ordinary course of things our standard mode of procedure in depicting someone's character calls for the description of his values... value-explanations are akin in their logical structure to character explanations. After all, the subscription to certain values is among the most significant features definitive of a man's character".

Values change over time and in space. From what we have seen so far they form a structure in and are part and parcel of the thought-content structure of how we perceive life and society in which we live. Therefore the structural explanation of social change must be in the dynamics of value change: since social change has to be initiated

by a change in values held about society; and for a change in values to occur there has to be value divergence (value-conflict) between the old type or present type of values and an anticipated better or worse state of affairs, in society. In this manner, our study of socio-economic change in Busoga, helps to explain the value changes that have occured in the shift from traditional life to a modernised life.

To basically operationalise what we have known so far, I will introduce the Socio-economic Change Spiral (SEC-spiral). This SEC-spiral is constructed by combining what I call "the famous two bipolar POVERTY CYCLES": categorising the rich and poor, whom I will label the HAVES and HAVENOTS. The two poverty cycles (from what we have seen so far) can correctly be referred to as WPS CYCLES: "A" for the HAVES and "B" for the HAVENOTS. (Diagram 7.).

The SEC-spiral more less depicts, to us, the socio-economic conditions under which we exist as individuals, work as researchers, work as development planners, work as development agents, learn as scholars, and work as consultants (for those who do so). But these depictions need completion, as we shall find out as we go on in this work. For the moment there are six conditional characteristics which need immediate noting, before we spend time on a "microscopic eye" examination of point C.

1. Socio-economic mobility is possible in both directions of poverty portrayed by circles A and B (ref. Diagram 7.).

2. The LC-gap boundary differentiates the HAVES from the HAVENOTS: respective to their own available socio-economic resources (ref Diagram 7 .).

3. The circulatory arrown illustrate the socio-economic potentials of individuals and groups existing in the WPS cycles A and B (ref. collective impact of Diagram 7.).

4. There exist great valuational-pattern differences between people living in A and B: and at each stage of development in A and B separately, as well as combined together (ref. differential impacts of components of Diagram 7.).

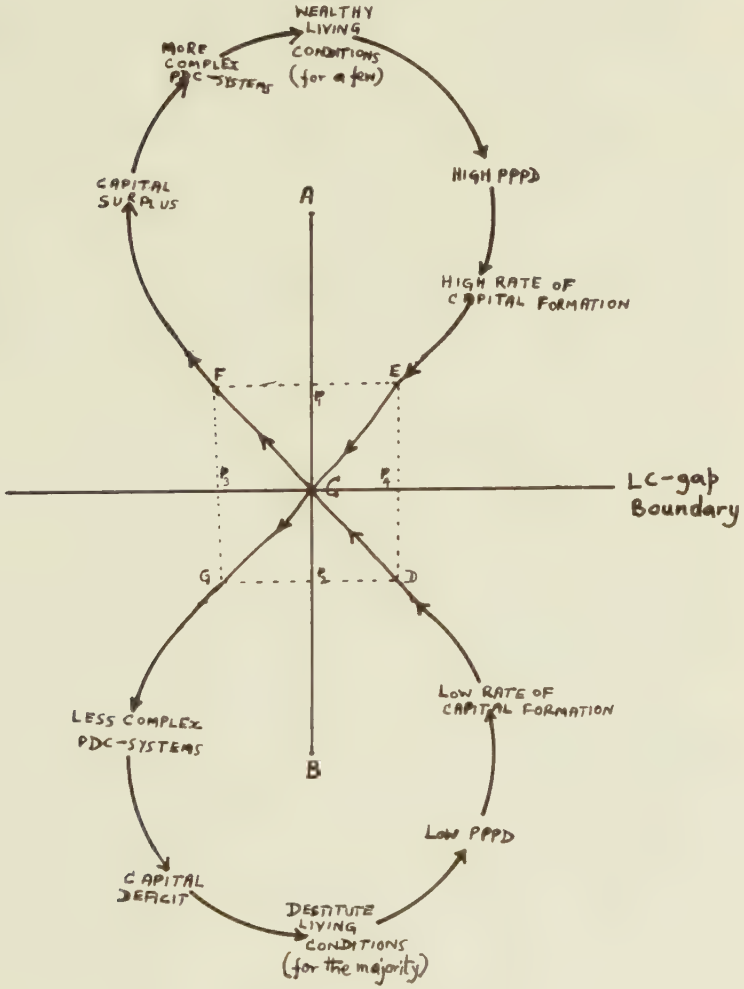
5. Situational environments in both A and B differ widely in socio-economic activity and reality. (Differentials in A, B and C Diagram 7.).

6. The richest HAVES more less exist at the centre of A: while the poorest HAVENOTS more less exist at the centre of B.

It should further be pointed out that while dealing with conditional characteristic (CC) 1. we are examining structural obstacles instituted in the socio-economic system to dether upward mobility: around which LC-gap between development policy and development performance rotate. CC 2. operates in direct connection with CC 1. CC 3. has special features (touched throughout the work) that enhence LC-gap polarisation. CC 4. is related mostly to population quality. CC 5. is perhaps (by now) the most apparent one though it still is only partially covered. CC 6. is the deciding factor as to who the conflict-parties in the WPS are going to be, and at what levels.

Point C is the critical point in socio-economic development, as this indeed is the milti-dimentional (or miltivariate) point at which categoric socio-economic transition must be rigorously broken down for thorough analysis. C is the point at which socio-economic and communication conflict develop optimal intense rivalries. By " socio-economic" I include social, economic, political, normative ethics, ideological, social order and structural components. Higher and lower relationships can be actually measured in terms of this point if methodological preciseness were to form the core of this work. The stability of a nation, change of values, corruption levels, and motivational trustworthy can also be looked at from this point: in terms of diagrams 2-5, tables 5-6, and diagram 10.

Diagram 10. The SEC-spiral.



NOTE: Living Conditions = LC.

To complement the significance of the need to understand the analytical importance of the SEC-spiral in this work, we can momentarily reflect on the historical development of the Uganda socio-economic structure. The creation of Uganda Protectorate, by the British, was basically to feed the mother country with cheap raw materials for British industry both home and abroad. The aim behind was to have profitable access to any available natural resources. The structures of the education system, social order, and economic system were their most effective means to achieve their goals of strategic interest. Even though Uganda was not exceptionally productive mineral-wise, in comparison with other imperial states in Africa and elsewhere in the world: the imperial Government constructed an agricultural structure favourable enough for their aims (through cash-crop introduction) and therefore with reasonable yields for imperial perpetuation. Cash-crop introduction gradually lowered food production as much land was being spared for cash-crops. This eventually led to people becoming short of usufruct land: and thus usufruct land shortage gathered momentum in developing into one of the major purchasable socio-economic conflict-causes.

The educational structure led to education being used as a passport to socio-economic advancements. Since education was paid for in the first twelve years (before university and other higher trainings); this meant that mostly the HAVES would dominate in having their children educated. But a majority of the population was peasant HAVENOTS. Even where there were HAVES in the old traditional society (mainly traditional chiefs): there existed WPS antagony through what was being lost through the new structure. Both traditional chiefs and the rest of the population lived and operated socio-economically in social orders that were grounded on clan depictions. Any children, from these people, who had any access to education had still to have most of their ILC's limited within clan boundaries. Yet socio-economic achievements (and therefore advancements) became more based on educational levels. The more educated one became, the more he also advanced socio-economically. But in life-style patterns this also was followed by the fact that the more educated one became, in the new system, the more he became detached from the old traditional social order which relied on clan depictions. This meant that the more one would advance socio-economically in the SEC-spiral, away from HAVENOTS to become a HAVE, the less he would become obliged to rely on clan-depictions.

In fact it is so that in Soga reality a greater majority of the population are HAVENOTS and are therefore still strongly utilising clan-depictions in their local life conducts. Since even the few HAVES mostly have parents directly in the HAVENOTS circle of the SEC-spiral, they too are still strongly dependent on clan-depictions. It is a fact (in the SEC-spiral) that those people existing

below the LC-gap boundary are still dependant on clan-depictions, and this is where a greater majority of Basoga belong. Anyone existing above the LC-gap boundary, though still not quite free from certain clan obligations (in Busoga), exploits more value-patterns laid down by the new social order, with more access to socio-economic advancement than his opposite partner below the LC-gap boundary.

These criteria are what qualify point C in the SEC-spiral to be of seminal importance in the analysis of socio-economic change in this work.

Let us briefly state who the HAVES and HAVENOTS first mentioned explicity in the SEC-spiral are:

a. In the British-influenced Uganda socio-economic structure.

HAVES	HAVENOTS
1. Before independence:	1. Before independence:
a. Europeans	a. All Africans including the "traditional HAVES"
b. Asians who settled after the building of Mombasa-Kampala railway.	b. wondering migrants from nearing African countries.
2. In the last half just before independence:	2. In the last half just before independence:
a. Europeans	a. African peasants and illiterates
b. Asians	b. Semi-literate Africans
c. African elites and privileged former traditional rulers, plus oncoming politicians	
d. Landlords (Africans and Asians)	
e. Traditional rulers with rapidly declining authority	

3. After independence: a. Europeans } non-Ugandan b. Asians } citizens who were expelled in 1973 c. African elites d. Landlords (now purely Africans) e. Soldiers (after 1971).	3. After independence: a. Peasants and illiterates b. Semi-literates c. Unemployed literates d. Deposed traditional rulers

This crude distinction will help us understand who is who in socio-economic development. But since the entire work compares and constrasts between the "modernised" and "traditional" lives, we must complete the picture with an equally crude distinction between parties in "the old traditional life".

b. In the old Soga traditional life, or socio-economic structures.

HAVES	HAVENOTS
a. State leaders of a king-type (some originally hereditary)	a. Commoners
b. State-leader appointed chiefs serving in areas of their appointers	b. New immigrants
c. Diverse "royal blood" sub-chiefs and trustees	c. Servants of all sorts and categories
d. Landlords (aBataka)	d. Wondering employees
e. Clan heads	e. Women
f. Men	

NOTE:

1. The existence of Landlords in both tables.
2. The categoric identification of sexes in the second table.
3. Wage and salary differences between HAVES and HAVENOTS are not commented on here merely to simplify matters.

The main comparative criteria here are based on:

1. The existence values of:
   a. the British
   b. the modernised Ugandans
   c. the traditional Ugandans.

2. The social orders of:
   a. the British
   b. the new Uganda socio-economic matrix
   c. the old Soga traditional socio-economic matrices.

The important interplay between the socio-economic structure and values (adapted from Wallensteen, 1973) is that the HAVES in the structure do not only tend to accumulate control and economic value: but also decide what is valuable. What the HAVES consider to be important, they will accumulate from the HAVENOTS. The fact that the HAVES accumulate these values influences the attitude of all other parties: leading to a conclusion that these values must be of importance. As the HAVES accumulate much of these values, this makes the HAVENOTS look up to the HAVES and accept the leadership of the HAVES: on at least their views of what is valuable. It becomes natural for the HAVENOTS to watch closely the developments of the HAVES, so as to instigate similar developments in their own local societies. To be a HAVE generally means not only the appropriation of control or of specific values: but it also means influencing the very definition of what is valuable. These aspects permanentise the HAVES' control: as they appropriate values, and inplant their own values in the HAVENOTS. This has had consequences of Uganda being a European-dependent area, strategically, since she has lots of her orientations toward Britain and other European countries. But to understand how far this has affected Soga socio-economic values we must deepen further our present knowledge about clan utility in Soga life.

A criterion in point here is to review the possibilities of successfully utilising clan-based interpersonal socio-economic relations in the WPS, (derived from the old traditional local life conduct value patterns) in the new so-called modernised socio-economic structure.

List of abbreviations

PDC-system = Production-Distribution-Consumption system
ILC = Interactional Levels Combination
Pdf = Peoples Differential Factor
ODF = Old State Origin Differences
VSE = Valuational Strength Estimates
VSe = Valuational Significance
Td = Tribal Differences
H (on p. 46) = High
L (on p. 46) = Low
WPS = Wealth Patriotism Struggle
SEC-spiral = Socio-economic Change spiral
LC-gap = Living Conditions gap
P.A = Political Administration
H = History
E.A = Economic Analysis
R.S = Religious Studies
S.O.A = Social Organisation Analysis
S.E.A = Socio-Economic Analysis
U.S = Urban Studies
I = Integration
c.c. = Conditional Characteristic
MISR = Makerere Institute of Social Research
EAISR = East African Institute of Social Research
(App. = Appendix)

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